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Districts Advisory Board

October 1975

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Report of the
Bilingual Districts
Advisory Board

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BILINGUAL DISTRICTS ADVISORY BOARD

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL

We, the Commissioners appointed to constitute a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board under the Official Languages Act, have the honour to submit our Reports and our recommendations to your Excellency.

Paul Fox, *Chairman*

M. Jane Carrothers

Eleanor Duckworth

W. Harry Hickman

Léopold Lamontagne

William Mackey

Alfred Monnin

Yvonne Raymond

Albert Regimbal

Adélard Savoie

Ottawa, October 1, 1975

Foreword

Acknowledgements

The work of the second Bilingual Districts Advisory Board continued during a period of three years. The first eighteen months were consumed in the preparation and study of relevant data, in discussing the basic issues involved, in conducting visits and holding hearings throughout Canada, and in arriving at specific decisions. The remainder of the time was spent drafting the report, discussing and revising it, and preparing the final draft for publication.

I should like to take advantage of the prerogative of a chairman to thank personally all of my colleagues and all of our staff who have been involved in this lengthy task. To my fellow commissioners in particular, I should like to express my deep appreciation of their work and their support. Each participated extensively in our efforts and made his or her own unique contribution. I am especially appreciative of the patience they displayed during the long period of the preparation of the report.

Although he did not want this point mentioned, I must note that my colleagues and I are particularly indebted to one of our members, Dr. Léopold Lamontagne, who spent many hours translating the report.

On behalf of the Board, I should like to thank all of the members of our staff, whether they served throughout the existence of the Board or for a briefer period. Our appreciation is extended to Mr. Neil Morrison, the Secretary-General of the Board; Lt. Col. Roland Morency, the Associate Secretary-General; Dr. Donald Cartwright, our research director; Mme Clairette Pilon, administrative officer; Mlle Pauline LeBlanc, who succeeded Mme Pilon; Miss Ann Good, executive assistant to the Secretary-General; M. Maurice Simoneau, technical and statistical officer; Mr. Peter Katznelson, cartographer; and our stenographers and messenger.

Finally, it may be useful to add at this point a few words of explanation about the Board's decisions.

Decisions of the Board

When making decisions, the members of the Board were not always in agreement. Although eight of the ten members have concurred in the majority report, two of these eight have prepared individual minority statements expressing their differences of opinion on certain points. Two additional members have dissented from the majority report and submitted individual minority reports. The two minority statements and the two minority reports will be found in Part IV.

The Board resolved that when its members made a decision on a specific matter, such as the recommendation of a particular bilingual district, we should not report the precise number of votes for and against a recommendation, but instead convey the weight of the Board's opinion by using a suitable descriptive phrase. The number of such terms has been limited and their employment has been standardized so that each time a particular word or phrase is used, it carries the same significance as a measure of the Board's opinion.

It should be explained that when the Board's opinion is stated in this fashion, the tally reflects the view of each Board member who voted on the specific point, regardless of whether an individual member later signed the majority report or submitted a minority report or statement. Thus, for example, some decisions are reported as unanimous. Although the chairman did not normally vote on a motion unless there was a tie, he concurred with the majority in each instance.

Paul Fox,
Chairman

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PART I
CONDUCT OF THE INQUIRY

Chapter 1 — Prelude and Procedures

Introduction

1. The Official Languages Act was passed by Parliament and assented to in July 1969.¹ It came into force in September of the same year. The passage of the Act marked the culmination of an intensive discussion and examination of the benefit of giving statutory recognition to the existence in Canada of two official languages, English and French.

2. In any country in which more than one language is commonly spoken, it is necessary to determine the official status of the languages used. While many languages are spoken in Canada, English and French are the languages of the two founding peoples who, in fact, constitute the two largest groups of citizens. According to the census of 1971, Canadians of English mother tongue amounted to 12,973,810 persons or 60.2 per cent of the total population of 21,568,310 while Canadians of French mother tongue constituted 5,793,650 individuals or 26.9 per cent of the population; the remaining 2,800,850 Canadians, or 13.0 per cent, were of other mother tongue. In 1967, after an extended and thorough investigation of the subject, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism recommended in its final report that the federal government should declare two languages official in Canada, English and French.² Parliament accepted this advice and two years later passed the Official Languages Act.

3. Section 2 of the Act declares that "The English and French languages are the official languages of Canada for all purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada, and possess and enjoy equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all the institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada."

4. The statute contains a number of provisions to assist in the implementation of the intent of this declaration. Some clauses in the Act require the publication in both languages of statutory and other instruments, others place certain obligations upon federal departments and agencies to provide their services in both languages, others create the position of Commissioner of Official Languages to oversee the enforcement of the Act, and still others provide for the creation of bilingual districts. The latter clauses are most pertinent to this report.

5. There are seven sections in the Act devoted to the establishment and functioning of bilingual districts and the role to be played in their creation by a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board. The relevant sections of the Act are numbers 12 to 18, which can be found verbatim in Appendix 1 of this report. The most important points arising from them are discussed subsequently in Chapter 2.

The Purpose of Bilingual Districts

6. According to the Act, a bilingual district is to be an area in which both of the official languages are spoken as a mother tongue by persons residing in the locality and in which the number of individuals belonging to the official language minority amounts to at least ten percent of the total population of the area. When a bilingual district is proclaimed, the federal government is required to communicate with the public and to provide its services in both official languages at each of its principal offices in every department, agency, and judicial, quasi-judicial or administrative body or Crown corporation in that bilingual district.

7. Although the purpose of bilingual districts thus appears to be simple and clear, we have encountered so much confusion in the public's mind on this point that we would like to emphasize the basic intention by reiterating it. The objective of creating a bilingual district is to require the federal government to provide its services in both languages.

¹ The formal designation of the Statute is *Official Languages Act*, R.S.C. 1970, c. O-2, An Act respecting the status of the Official Languages of Canada. See *infra*, Part V, Appendix 1, for a reproduction of the entire text of the Act.

² Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book 1, *The Official Languages*, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967, p. 147.

8. However, it should be clearly understood that the existence of a bilingual district will not oblige the public to become bilingual. Far from it. In fact, just the opposite is true. A bilingual district can protect unilingualism by ensuring that an individual who speaks only English or only French can communicate with the federal government in his or her own language. The bilingual requirement that is imposed by a district does not fall upon the public but upon the government.

9. It should be added that the obligation incurred by the federal government does not mean that all of its civil servants must be, or must become, bilingual. Only those employees dealing with the public under the circumstances described above would be expected to be bilingual.

10. It is also worth observing that nothing in the Official Languages Act, whether it be the clauses in the statute establishing English and French as the official languages of Canada or any other section providing for the implementation of this declaration, derogates in any way from the privileges enjoyed by any additional language. Section 38 of the Act expressly forbids the diminution of any legal or customary rights or privileges possessed or acquired by any additional language before or after the Act came into force.

11. The objective of the Act was summarized cogently in 1969 by the then Secretary of State, the Honourable Gérard Pelletier, when he remarked during a discussion of the Official Languages Bill in the House of Commons on May 16 of that year, "The purpose of the present bill is not to regulate the language which citizens must speak, but to ensure that they may address the federal government agencies in the official language of their choice."

12. Two other points are worth reiterating also. First, the creation of bilingual districts is not intended to involve the establishment of any separate or additional administrative structure. On the contrary, bilingual districts are simply designated areas within which existing federal institutions are to offer their services to the public in both official languages. Second, the obligation to provide such services applies only to federal institutions and not to provincial or municipal agencies. Obviously, the federal government has jurisdiction only in its own domain, although it is true that the Act envisages the possibility of similar services being provided in conterminous areas by other governments.

13. To assist the federal government in determining appropriate areas which might become bilingual districts, the Official Languages Act requires the Governor

in Council to appoint after each decennial census a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board which is charged with the duty of recommending the establishment of potential bilingual districts and the delineation of their boundaries. A Board may also propose revisions in the boundaries of districts which have been created previously but it may not eliminate existing districts.

The First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board

14. On February 12th, 1970, the Governor in Council appointed the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board. This Board studied the relevant problems and submitted its report, which was tabled in the House of Commons in May 1971.³ Later the government decided not to implement the recommendations contained in this report. One of the reasons was that the work of the First Board had been based, of necessity, on the statistics available from the census of 1961 and it was realized that these out-dated statistics would soon be replaced by data acquired from the 1971 census.

The Second Bilingual Districts Advisory Board

15. Following the completion of the returns from the census of 1971, the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State and in conformity with paragraph 1 of Section 14 of the Official Languages Act, appointed a second Bilingual Districts Advisory Board on May 25, 1972.⁴

Membership of the Second Board

16. The names and places of residence of the ten commissioners were as follows:

M. Jane Carrothers ⁵	—Calgary, Alta.
Eleanor Duckworth	—Halifax, N.S.
Paul Fox	—Toronto, Ont.
W. Harry Hickman	—Victoria, B.C.
Léopold Lamontagne	—Ottawa, Ont.
William F. Mackey	—Sainte-Foy, Que.
Alfred Monnin	—Saint Boniface, Man.
Yvonne R. Raymond	—Montreal, Que.
Albert Regimbal	—Sudbury, Ont.
Adélaré Savoie	—Dieppe, N.B.

³ *Recommendations of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, March, 1971*, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1971.

⁴ P.C. 1972-1125, reprinted *infra*, Part V, Appendix 2.

⁵ In July 1974, Mrs. Carrothers established her residence in Montreal, Québec.

17. At the same time Mr. Fox was designated Chairman. The Board held its first meeting on June 28th and 29th 1972, at its office, 110 Argyle Avenue, Ottawa. Subsequently, it met there in plenary sessions on occasion, as its business required, until its work was completed. In addition, groups of members of the Board travelled to many places in Canada where there was a concentration of at least ten per cent of one of the official language minorities.⁶

18. To assist its work, the Board appointed a small staff whose number varied from time to time but never exceeded twelve. The senior members of the staff were:

Neil Morrison	—Secretary-General
Roland Morency	—Associate Secretary-General
Donald Cartwright	—Research Director
Clairette Pilon	—Administrative Officer.

19. The characteristics of the members and staff furnished the Board with a broad range of professional talents and experience. We had among our numbers persons trained in the following fields or conversant with them: law, linguistics, demography, geography, education, community service, sociology, political science, and public administration. Several of our Board members or staff had had considerable experience on previous public boards or commissions dealing with bilingual and bicultural matters. In addition, four members of the Second Board, as well as the Secretary-General and the Associate Secretary, had served on the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board.

20. The members of the Second Board also possessed characteristics which were representative of some of the major elements in Canadian society. Our Board included residents from five geographical regions of the country, three women and seven men, and although all were bilingual, an equal number of persons of English and French mother tongue.

21. In a report dealing with bilingualism, it is worth noting in passing that the employment of two languages was not a hindrance to our work. When speaking or writing, a member used whichever of the two languages he or she chose. Distinctions other than language were more apparent and longlasting. As one would expect, it took time for ten individuals coming from different parts of the country and reflecting diverse backgrounds, interests, and professions to grasp one another's perceptions and points of view. Although the differences of opinion which were expressed were not always reconciled, new conceptions and appreciations emerged from

the exchange of views. Learning from one another made us realize that the heterogeneity of Canadian society can be an asset, rather than the liability which it is often alleged to be.

Methods of Conducting the Inquiry

22. Sections 14 and 15 of the Official Languages Act confer on a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board the duties and powers to conduct an inquiry pursuant to Part I of the Inquiries Act. In conducting its inquiry, the Board made use of two methods of investigation. The first was to study pertinent published and unpublished material, in particular the Official Languages Act itself and language statistics derived from the most recent census returns, relevant general literature such as monographs and articles,⁷ correspondence received by the Board, and reports and position papers written by members of the Board or its staff. The second method of investigation was to consult many interested individuals and groups in various localities in Canada which qualified as potential bilingual districts.

Expression of Appreciation

23. Before presenting our findings, the Board would like to express a word of appreciation to all of the individuals and groups who were of assistance to us in the conduct of our inquiry.

24. The number of persons who helped us was large and representative of a broad range of interests. It included elected and appointed officials in all three sectors of federal, provincial, and local government as well as individual citizens and members of public and private groups. Although we shall note in due course the contributions of those whom we met during our visits and consultations, we would like to mention at this point the assistance we received from members of the public service.

25. When we reviewed the Official Languages Act, for instance, we profited from the counsel of a law officer of the crown who met with the Board at length on two occasions. We also benefitted immensely from the excellent services rendered continually by Statistics Canada. Its officials were not only very cooperative in providing us with all the basic demographic data necessary for our work but they were generous in responding to our numerous inquiries and requests for assistance

⁶ See *infra*, Part V, Appendix 3, for a list of visits and meetings of the Board.

⁷ Some of this literature is noted in the Select List of References, *infra*, Part V, Appendix 4.

and in making available to us the results of some of the department's sophisticated techniques for producing specific tabulations. We shall say more about this material shortly when we review the statistical data the Board used in its work. We would like to acknowledge with appreciation too the great assistance which we received from some members of the departments of the Secretary of State and the Treasury Board, and from a number of federal departments and agencies which answered a lengthy questionnaire that we circulated.

26. We would like to thank also all those individuals and groups of Canadians who communicated with us by writing to the Board or by submitting petitions and memoranda. Each communication was reported to a plenary meeting of the Board which then had an opportunity to discuss the points raised.

Accumulation and Disposition of Material

27. In addition to the evidence, data, and opinions gained from all of these sources, the Board acquired a considerable body of information from the research done by our own staff and from position papers prepared on occasion by some members of the Board and staff. We spent a good deal of time discussing this material as well as our other findings, and we recorded for reference the essence of our deliberations.

28. As a result of these various activities, the Board accumulated a sizable amount of documentation. A

good deal of it is contained in the 19 volumes of the running record which the Board compiled. But only a small portion of it could be included within the limited space of the present report. However, the Board hopes to publish a reference supplement which will present and analyze a considerable amount of our additional pertinent research. In due course, all of the research data, as well as all of the documents, correspondence, files, and records of the Board, will be deposited in the Public Archives of Canada.

Additional Function of the Board

29. During the Board's work, we found that our staff's accumulation of knowledge and experience in language matters was being called upon by the public and some governmental agencies. Our office received a number of requests for assistance from various public bodies and private organizations which were seeking information and advice to help them resolve problems in the field of language policy. The staff spent considerable time in consultations on such matters. While the Board was pleased that the staff could render this assistance, we were surprised to realize that there seems to be no other body which possesses such detailed information about the intricacies of the distribution of language populations in Canada. As requests kept increasing, we came to the conclusion that there was a definite need for a continuing body to provide such information and advice. In an effort to meet this need, we have made an appropriate supplementary recommendation in Part III of our report.⁸

⁸ *Infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 4, pp. 176-177.

Chapter 2 — Review of the Act

Intent of the Act

30. It seemed wise to the Board to commence its work by reviewing the Official Languages Act, devoting particular attention to those of its sections which pertain to our mandate and are substantive rather than merely procedural.

31. Our first observation was that while the intent of the Act and the meaning of most of its sections are very clear, some clauses are rather difficult to interpret precisely. Section 2 of the Act, for example, appears to state the intent of the legislation very explicitly. It declares that English and French are the official languages of Canada in regard to all the functions of the Parliament and government of Canada and that the two languages are to have equal status, rights, and privileges in their use in all federal institutions.

Some Qualifications

32. Yet, despite the apparent clarity of this statement, some of the sections which implement it qualify the generality of the declaration. Sections 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, for instance, require equal treatment for French and English in the publication of federal public notices, rules, orders, regulations, by-laws, proclamations, and advertisements, and in the final decisions and judgments of judicial or quasi-judicial bodies, but these sections also attach some conditions to the requirement to publish some of these items simultaneously in both languages.

33. Furthermore, while Section 9 obliges the federal government to provide certain services in both languages in the National Capital Region, in bilingual districts, and on occasion elsewhere, the section qualifies this requirement in several ways which will be elaborated below. Section 10 provides for bilingual services to the travelling public, but only where there is significant and regular demand. Section 11 requires the use of the two languages in courts and judicial proceedings, but again

subject to certain conditions, including in some instances the concurrence of enabling provincial legislation governing some courts. Likewise, Sections 39 and 40 also specify certain qualifications. Finally, while Sections 12, 13 and 14 lay down the procedures for creating bilingual districts, the clauses make the proclamation of districts discretionary, not obligatory.

34. It would be misleading to convey the impression that every section of the Act attaches qualifications to the general declaration of the equal status of French and English. To take two examples in which this is not the case, Section 8, for instance, makes the construction of enactments in English and French equally authentic while Sections 19 to 34 establish the office of the Commissioner of Official Languages who is to enforce the Act and to ensure the recognition of the status of each of the two languages.

35. But the specification, in the clauses noted previously, of certain restraints in the provision of bilingual services by federal institutions does imply that the equality of the two languages referred to in Section 2 is not applicable universally throughout Canada in all federal agencies. The same inference can be drawn from the Act's provision for the establishment of bilingual districts themselves since the latter are to be selected areas within Canada in which the federal government is obliged to offer its services in both languages.

36. Thus, it is apparent that the Act does not envisage the provision of bilingual services by federal institutions everywhere in Canada and that to the extent that this limitation prevails, the principle of the equality of status of the two official languages is not fulfilled. However, a reading of the clauses of the Act which prescribe exceptions to the principle of equality reveals that the limitations are dictated by common sense and practicality. For example, the Act states, as noted already, that under certain circumstances bilingual services need not be provided where there is insufficient demand. Such a case might arise in a unilingual area in Canada in which almost all of the residents belong

by mother tongue to one or the other of the two official language groups.

Basic Principle Clear

37. The Board did not need much time to decide that the utilization of common sense and practicality in the implementation of the principle of the Act did not nullify the basic principle itself, namely, the intent to give equality of status to the two official languages. We believed that the intent of the legislation is so apparent that we should be guided in our work by the same principle. Thus, we concluded that when recommending bilingual districts, we should take as our prime criterion the desirability of trying to ensure, wherever possible, the availability of federal services in both French and English.

Difficulties in Interpretation

38. We found some sections of the Act difficult to interpret. Section 9(1), for instance, requires that every federal governmental department, agency, judicial, quasi-judicial or administrative body or crown corporation be able to serve the public and communicate with it in both English and French within the National Capital Region, at its head or central office in Canada if it is located outside the Capital Region, and at each of its principal offices in a federal bilingual district.

39. The meaning of the phrase "principal offices" was not apparent to us immediately or later. It is one of the terms in the Act which we have found most difficult to interpret. We spent a good deal of time initially in attempting to arrive at a satisfactory definition and we returned to a consideration of the problem on a number of occasions. The substance of our deliberation is reported subsequently in paragraphs 123 to 128.

40. We also encountered difficulty in interpreting some words in the next clause in the Act. Section 9(2) states that every department and agency of the government of Canada and every judicial, quasi-judicial or administrative body or crown corporation has a duty additional to that imposed upon it by section 9(1). Each of these bodies must provide, "to the extent that it is feasible for it to do so," bilingual services to the public located outside of the National Capital Region and bilingual districts when there is a significant demand from citizens for such facilities.

41. Again, we were unable to determine the precise meaning of the words "feasible" and "significant de-

mand". The section indicates that the federal government is obliged to provide bilingual services in some places other than the National Capital Region and bilingual districts under certain circumstances but these circumstances obviously require definition. We attempted to find satisfactory definitions for these terms but despite repeated efforts we did not succeed. Our reflections are recorded below in paragraphs 152 to 158.

Criteria for Creating Bilingual Districts

42. Sections 12 to 18 of the Act deal specifically with the creation of bilingual districts and the powers of the Board. We noted that the Board's function is purely advisory. The Board is charged with the duty of recommending possible bilingual districts and their boundaries, but the Governor in Council has the power to accept or reject any or all of the Board's recommendations.

43. We noted also that the boundaries which the Board may propose are to be delineated in reference to the boundaries of any or all of the following: census districts, local government or school districts, or federal or provincial electoral districts or regions. We interpreted this provision to mean that we could define boundaries by using or referring to any of these criteria, in whole or in part, separately or in combination.

44. According to Section 13(2) of the Act, an area which is eligible to be recommended by the Board as a bilingual district is one in which both of the official languages are spoken as a mother tongue by persons residing in that area and in which the number of persons who belong to the minority mother tongue group amounts to at least ten percent of the total population of the area. The Board noted in passing that although the intent of this Section is quite clear, its wording is prone to misinterpretation unless it is read in conjunction with Section 36(2) which states that mother tongue spoken is to be defined, for the purposes of the Act, as the language first learned in childhood by a person and still understood, rather than still spoken, by that individual.

45. Section 13(3) permits a bilingual district to be established also where the minority is less than ten percent if, before the Act came into force, the services of departments and agencies of the federal government were customarily made available to residents of that area in both official languages. This sanction for bilingual districts seemed more likely to arise in Quebec than elsewhere since the Board found that there were

more federal bilingual services available traditionally in Quebec than in other provinces. After considerable discussion, most of the members of the Board concluded that it would not be necessary or advisable to use the criterion of custom to recommend the establishment of bilingual districts. We believed that it would be unnecessary since the purpose of bilingual districts was to provide bilingual services, and if the latter were already offered, it was unlikely that they would be discontinued. We also believed that it would be inadvisable to use the criterion because, in practice, it would apply much more frequently in Quebec than elsewhere, thereby perpetuating the inequalities that had existed in the past in the use of the two languages throughout Canada.

46. The Board also noted that Section 13(2) does not require the establishment of a bilingual district in every locality in which both languages are spoken and in which there is an official language minority of at least ten percent. Since the operative word in this subsection is “may” rather than “must”, the Board interpreted the clause to mean that it had a discretionary power to recommend specific areas as districts. This optional power seemed all the more important because we noted that Section 13(4) implies, according to our interpretation, that when once a bilingual district is proclaimed, its boundaries can be altered subsequently but the district itself can never be abolished entirely. If this inference is correct, we believed that before recommending bilingual districts, we should consider the possible alternatives, describing them in this report and giving the reasons for our final decisions.

Duties of the Board

47. The remaining clause in the Act which seemed to have potential substantive implications for our work is Section 15. The first subsection, while it is important, is essentially procedural, laying down the steps and methods by which a Board is to conduct its inquiry and

submit its report. Subsection (2) adds to the possible responsibilities of a Board by enabling the Governor in Council to charge a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board with the duty of negotiating, on behalf of the Governor in Council, a draft agreement with the government of a province if the latter wishes to establish in conjunction with the federal government any conterminous bilingual districts for the respective jurisdictions of the two authorities. Subsection (3) amplifies the clause by stating that when a Board proposes a bilingual district, it shall consider the convenience of the public in regard to all of the federal, provincial, municipal and educational services which may be provided therein. To achieve this end, a Board may recommend to the Governor in Council any administrative changes in federal services that it deems necessary to adapt the area to a provincial or municipal bilingual area, for the greater convenience of the public or to further the purposes of the Act.

48. The present Board found that the three subsections in Section 15 were quite clear and presented little or no difficulty in interpretation. We shall discuss later in this report at the appropriate points the extent to which the powers conferred by the several subsections were utilized by the Board.

Regulatory Power Adds Flexibility

49. Concluding our review of the Act, we noted a section of the statute which is worth mentioning since, although it does not pertain to the powers of the Board, it can affect the work of the Board. Section 35 confers on the Governor in Council the capacity to issue regulations to make the affairs of the government of Canada and its institutions comply with the Act. We believed that this clause adds to the flexibility of the statute since it permits the Governor in Council to supplement the recommendations of the Board.

Chapter 3 — Review of Statistical Data

Primary Source

50. Having clarified our mandate as best we could, the Board turned to an examination of the relevant statistics for the mother tongue populations in those areas in Canada in which the official language minority amounted to at least ten percent of the total population in 1971.

51. Statistics Canada published a bulletin designed for the particular use of the Board. Entitled *Population, Specified Mother Tongues for Census Divisions and Subdivisions*, Catalogue No. 92-773 (SP-3), December 1972,⁹ this bulletin contains a brief summary of the numerical and percentage distribution of the population by mother tongue for Canada and the provinces in 1961 and 1971. Most of the publication, however, is devoted to giving in detail by province the numerical and percentage distribution of the population by English, French, and other mother tongue for census divisions and subdivisions and for federal electoral districts in Canada, according to the returns from the 1971 census. This bulletin was the basic authority to which the Board continually referred.

52. In certain instances, when we needed information for areas smaller than census divisions and subdivisions, Statistics Canada was able to provide data for census tracts and enumeration areas. The latter were the smallest units for which the Board obtained information.

Language-Related Data

53. Later, we received five additional publications in the language series from Statistics Canada. Each presented supplementary language information derived from the 1971 census returns. Chronologically, the first of these publications was entitled *Population by Mother Tongue*, Catalogue 92-725, Bulletin 1.3-4,

April, 1973. The second was *Advance Bulletin, Population by Language Most Often Spoken at Home and by Official Language*, Catalogue 92-759 (AP-8), August 1973. The third was entitled *Population, Official Language and Language Most Often Spoken at Home*, Catalogue 92-726, Volume 1—Part 3, (Bulletin 1.3-5), August 1973. The fourth was *Population, Language by Age Groups*, Catalogue 92-733, Volume 1—Part 4, (Bulletin 1.4-5), January 1974, while the fifth was *Population, Language by Ethnic Groups*, Catalogue 92-736, Volume 1—Part 4, (Bulletin 1.4-8), February, 1974.

54. At one point we thought that we might be able to make use of this additional language-related information to give greater precision to our recommendations. In particular, we believed that the data might be helpful in indicating the extent to which the official language minority in various localities was being assimilated and the effect that such a change might have upon the demand for federal services in the minority language. To assist us, our staff completed a number of tabulations to try to discover whether or not there were some significant relationships among the various factors in the language-related data.

55. We found some interesting correlations. The results of our tentative probing revealed, for instance, that in some cases there was a substantial decline in the use of the language of the minority, particularly among certain age groups and in certain locations. There apparently was a more pronounced tendency for such diminutions to occur in younger age groups and in large urban centres. We began to realize, therefore, that if the minority was to sustain its language, it might need services in its own language in large municipalities where its numbers were considerable, as well as in rural communities where its numbers were small. We shall return to a discussion of this problem later in our report.

56. In the last analysis, however, we decided that we could not make definitive use of the language-re-

⁹ All of the relevant Bulletins are listed in the Select List of References, *infra*, Part V, Appendix 4.

lated data since we noted that the Official Languages Act established mother tongue data as the basic criteria which were to be used by the Board for determining bilingual districts.

Additional Material

57. In addition to the basic demographic data which were necessary for our work, we received from Statistics Canada some useful supplementary material in graphic form. We secured, for instance, computer maps showing the distribution of official language populations by mother tongue in the provinces and in some census metropolitan areas. We also obtained ecumene maps which gave the extent of permanent habitation by province. These maps were remarkably useful since they permitted us to see at a glance the patterns of settlement of official language minority and majority populations in a number of areas, for example, in Montreal and Toronto. Unfortunately, because of lack of space, we cannot include such graphic material in this report; it is some of the evidence which we hope to present in the proposed reference supplement.

58. Working in conjunction with Statistics Canada and utilizing the data which emerged, the Board's research director, a cultural geographer, was able to furnish the Board with a good deal of statistical and geographical data and analysis. The efforts of our staff went beyond the routine collection and interpretation of primary data. Our secretary-general and associate secretary, as well as our research director, contributed their experience and research in language matters and raised new perspectives for the Board to consider. We were

well provided, therefore, with both extensive and intensive statistical and graphic data.

Use of Data and Material

59. Utilizing this material, the Board spent a considerable amount of time at many of our plenary meetings in examining some of the fundamental questions that lay at the root of our work and in testing various hypotheses. Our thinking on these more theoretical matters will be reported subsequently in Chapter 5 where we shall discuss issues and rationale.

60. With the data at hand, we were able also to begin a practical examination of each census division and subdivision in Canada which had the minimal percentage requirement for a bilingual district. We found that there were many census divisions or subdivisions which had a minimum of ten per cent of the official language minority by mother tongue. But the number of the minority in some of these areas was very small, in some cases as few as five or ten persons. Thus, we quickly decided we could not immediately recommend each of these areas as a bilingual district. To have done so would have been to create across the country a profusion of small districts in which the minority would have numbered only a handful.

61. In order to get a more precise picture, we asked our research director to transfer the statistics for the official language populations to maps of various scales for each province in Canada. When we had seen the data displayed in cartographic form, we were able to discern where feasible districts might be located and to consider what their boundaries might be.

Chapter 4 — Visits and Consultations

Purpose and Number of Visits

62. We were well aware that a group of persons sitting in an office in the national capital could not determine adequately the location and boundaries of bilingual districts merely by consulting statistics and maps. We appreciated that it was necessary to visit potential bilingual districts and to consult with local groups and individuals in order to discover the extent of the need for bilingual services, the degree to which they were provided already, and the selection of boundaries that might best fit the realities of the local situation.

63. We did not visit every place which had a minority language population of at least ten percent because some of these localities were very small in population, or were very remote and isolated and had few, if any, federal services. Moreover, since some potential districts had been visited by the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board as recently as 1970 or 1971 and the proportions of the minority groups had not changed significantly in the interval, it did not seem necessary to visit them again. However, we did make a serious effort to visit all of the other obvious potential bilingual districts and to consult with as many individuals as we could meet in the brief time we had available in each place.

64. The extent of our efforts can be judged by the fact that we conducted 157 visits or meetings during which we consulted with more than 800 people.¹⁰ It was not customary for the entire Board to take part in each of the visits and meetings. Since the availability of our members was limited by the fact that each of them, including the chairman, was serving only part-time on the Board, we never travelled or held meetings in the field with all of our members present. Instead,

those of us who were available at the time of a meeting comprised a small delegation to visit a particular locality.

Consultations with Groups and Individuals

65. During our visits we tried to meet three different sorts of groups and individuals. We were most anxious to meet the members of the official language minority, but we also tried to consult, where possible, members of the majority official language group. In addition, since we believed that public officials would be especially qualified to give us an informed appreciation of local needs, conditions, and opinions, and good advice on the delineation of boundaries, we made a special effort to meet elected representatives, such as mayors, members of municipal councils, school board trustees, members of provincial legislatures, and members of Parliament. Because the latter were often more available in Ottawa, many of our consultations with members of Parliament were held in the capital. The Board extended an invitation to every member of Parliament whose constituency might be included in whole or in part within a prospective bilingual district. Altogether, we invited more than a hundred members of the Twenty-Ninth Parliament to meet with us, of whom 47 eventually were able to consult with us.

66. Section 15(1) of the Official Languages Act permitted the Board to hold public meetings at its discretion. After some deliberation, we decided that the purposes of the inquiry could best be fulfilled by having more intimate consultations with the interested groups and individuals already mentioned. However, when consultations were requested by individuals or groups, the Board always complied.

Meetings with Provincial Governments

67. Section 15(1) of the Act requires the Board to consult with the government of each of the provinces in which a bilingual district might be recommended.

¹⁰ For an itemized record of the visits and meetings, see *infra*, Part V, Appendix 3, List of Meetings of the Board, and of the Places and Dates of Visits and Consultations.

We were pleased to carry out what we believed to be a wise procedure and in due course we met with representatives of the government of each of the ten provinces. In some instances the Premier of a province received us while in other provinces the Premier assigned the function to one or two ministers who, accompanied by their staff, met with a group of members of our Board and staff. In every instance we profited from the hospitable reception extended to us, and we would like to take this opportunity to thank the provincial governments for their cordiality and their helpful comments and advice.

68. We found in every province an interest in bilingualism, although the degree of interest and the attitude towards bilingual districts varied considerably from province to province. With the exception of New Brunswick, which had passed its own Official Languages Act in 1969 providing provincial bilingual services, no provincial government was prepared to accept, at the time of our visit, the invitation implied in Section 15 of the federal Act to join the federal government in establishing for provincial purposes bilingual districts that would be coterminous with federal districts.

69. Although there may not have been much change in provincial attitudes towards bilingual districts, we did discover that there seemed to be on the part of the provinces a greater general acceptance of the concept of two official languages for Canada than there had been when the First Board conducted its inquiry in 1970 and 1971. Several provinces were also more sympathetic than they had been previously to the need to provide services in both official languages. Each was quite prepared to do something, in its own way, for the minority language group. In fact, most of the provinces were already providing some of their own services in the minority language.

70. However, there was considerable range in the variety of the attitudes displayed by the provincial governments towards the concept of bilingual districts. Some were quite favourable to the establishment of federal bilingual districts. Thus, in one province, for instance, enthusiasm for the support and the development of the French-speaking minority exceeded the possibilities of our recommending districts based upon the statistical requirements and the provincial government regretted that we could not recommend a greater number of bilingual districts. In another province, the government was much more favourably disposed than previously to the creation of a federal bilingual district and anxious to have increased bilingual facilities because the

influx of French-speaking tourists into the province had made it clear that a more plentiful supply of services in French would be advantageous to local business. In still another province, the government expressed concern about the way in which federal bilingual services might be implemented and administered but reaffirmed its commitment to the policy of bilingualism and its support for the creation of a federal bilingual district.

71. Similar endorsement of bilingual services and federal bilingual districts was forthcoming from two other provinces. Another province evinced a new interest in bilingualism and demonstrated great sympathy and support for the minority language.

72. One province was opposed to the creation of federal bilingual districts for reasons of principle and practice. It regarded language matters as a subject for its jurisdiction alone, and it also believed that the establishment of bilingual districts would increase the threat to the existence of the majority language in that province by promoting the growth of the other language.

73. Four provinces, in all, were of the opinion that it was unnecessary to create federal bilingual districts as provided in Section 9(1) of the Act since they were convinced that bilingual services could be furnished satisfactorily to the minority in its language under Section 9(2). However, one of these provinces had made use of the First Board's recommendations delineating federal districts as a guide to assist it in establishing priorities for supplying its own services in French. As a result, by the time of our visit this province was already providing a good many bilingual services, although it still preferred to furnish such facilities pragmatically in response to demand rather than by creating provincial bilingual districts.

74. In two additional provinces we found that the inauguration of both federal and provincial policies supporting multiculturalism had diminished some of the previous public antagonism towards bilingualism, thus creating new opportunities for the provision of services in languages other than that of the majority.

75. In summary, we observed that most of the provincial governments demonstrated a greater measure of acceptance than previously of the principle of two official languages in Canada and a greater willingness to see federal services and at least some provincial services provided in the minority official language as well as in the majority language. However, we did not find in all provinces that this acceptance extended to the approval of the establishment of federal or provincial bilingual districts. Nevertheless, although we could not be cer-

tain, we inferred that the acceptance of the principle of the Official Languages Act and the need for providing services in both official languages in many places was shared by an increasing number of Canadians.

76. The English-speaking provinces, in particular, were well disposed towards the augmentation of support for education in the minority official language. The funds which had been made available by the federal government for the teaching of the French language had obviously been welcome and some provinces expressed a desire for increased resources to be used for the training of their civil servants in the minority language.

77. A number of provinces offered additional comments and suggestions. Some were apprehensive that the employment of local residents by the federal government might be diminished by the establishment of federal bilingual districts. One government wondered if the creation of districts would involve the relocation of federal offices and thereby affect deleteriously the provision of provincial services. Another province wished to be consulted again before federal districts were actually established. One province expressed the fear that any further delay in implementing federal bilingual districts would make it more difficult for the province to offer services in the minority language.

78. In one province in which the attitude of the recently elected government was more favourable to bilingualism than that of its predecessor had been, the new administration still feared that the terms "bilingualism" and "bilingual districts" might arouse opposition among its residents. This government suggested that these terms in the Official Languages Act might be changed. Another government proposed that the Act should be amended so that the size of the minority language group would be calculated by the figures for the language most often spoken in the home rather than by the figures for mother tongue. It also suggested amending the Act to add a requirement that there be a certain minimal number of the minority in an area before it could be recommended as a bilingual district. Finally, this government expressed the opinion that the same federal policy in regard to bilingual services would not fit equally well all parts of the country and that the policy should be adjusted to suit local needs.

Opinions of Members of Parliament

79. Almost without exception all the members of Parliament who accepted our invitation to consult with us displayed a sympathetic interest in bilingualism, although in general there was a greater degree of empathy

among members from the east than from the west. However, we found that they were all well aware of the problems of the minority language group. When uneasiness and reservations were expressed, the fears frequently concerned the implementation of bilingual policies and the possibility, if a mistake were made in implementation, of creating ethnic and language conflict. In brief, the members of Parliament were not opposed to the principle of bilingualism in Canada enunciated in the Official Languages Act but they were very apprehensive about the manner in which it might be implemented.

80. When differences of opinion were expressed about the feasibility of providing bilingual services either by the creation of bilingual districts or by some other administrative means, the differences did not correlate with the members' mother tongue identification, with their party affiliation, or with the region of the country they represented. Indeed, it was striking to note that on a number of occasions a member of Parliament of the majority language group was more outspoken in supporting bilingual districts than was an MP with the same mother tongue as the minority. Similarly, differences of opinion among MPs about the wisdom of creating bilingual districts did not correspond to distinctions in party or region. Some members of Parliament expressed a clear preference for bilingual districts because they believed that the provision of bilingual services by the federal government could be enforced more effectively under Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act than under Section 9(2). Others, however, preferred not to have bilingual districts because they were apprehensive that the drawing of lines on a map for such a purpose might divide the populace and foment antagonisms by emphasizing ethnic and language differences.

81. A number of the members of Parliament whom we met were particularly apprehensive that the creation of bilingual districts might adversely affect employment in the federal public service in their own localities. To quote an example, one MP noted that there were 60 rural mail delivery postmen working on contract in his constituency and that if the area were declared a bilingual district, the contractors would probably be required to be bilingual in the future. This would create a great problem for some of the employees since about half of the current contractors were either unilingual French-speaking or unilingual English-speaking. He wondered if such persons would be excluded from holding contracts in the future. If so, he felt that there would be serious protest and dissension in his riding. There was a good deal of reluctance on the part of many

members of Parliament to leave decisions concerning employment to resolution by the civil service.

82. In summary, the overwhelming impression that we derived from our consultations with the many members of Parliament whom we met was similar to that which we obtained from the representatives of the provincial governments. There was a general awareness of the need for the provision of bilingual federal services in many parts of Canada and sympathy and support for the implementation of such policies. But there was also an acute concern that such facilities, whether they were provided by bilingual districts or by other means, should be implemented with a maximum of common sense and a minimum of public inconvenience.

Attitudes of Other Public Officials

83. Much the same attitude was evident when we consulted with other public officials, such as members of provincial legislatures and officials of municipal governments and school boards. Once more we were impressed by the almost universal support for the principle of offering governmental services in both official languages where there was a reasonably extensive need for such facilities. We were also impressed by the general acceptance of the principle of two official languages in Canada and the sense of fair play and responsibility evinced by these representatives.

84. It was only on rare occasions that we encountered among such persons outright opposition to bilingualism. In such cases it arose usually because the region in which the individual lived had a much smaller population of persons of the official language minority than of other language and ethnic minorities. It is understandable that in such circumstances a person might find it difficult to appreciate the justification for language arrangements that reflect a policy which seeks to give equal status to Canada's two official language groups when the proportions of language groups in his own locality are so different from those in the country as a whole.

Consultations in the National Capital Region

85. The Board's first visit was in the National Capital Region, which became in effect a bilingual district by virtue of Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act. We consulted with the Mayor of the City of Ottawa, the Chairman of the National Capital Commission, and the Chairman of the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, and with some of their officials.

86. We learned that it was possible to make progress in providing bilingual services in an administration by introducing them quietly but effectively at the points at which the public came in contact with governments, and then by slowly but persistently extending the range of bilingual services to higher echelons within the administrative structure. Employees could be offered training in the other official language or the opportunity to improve their capacities in their own mother tongue if it was an official language and their capabilities had been eroded. Equipment for simultaneous interpretation at council meetings could be provided at a reasonable cost and publications and documents could be issued in both languages with increasing frequency. We were told that practical difficulties were often less of a stumbling block than were theoretical objections. The key to success was to make haste slowly and to avoid creating issues that could be provoked by statements of principle and promulgations of set timetables.

87. In Ottawa we also visited the Commissioner of Official Languages and some members of his staff. We felt that the Board might profit from the experience and knowledge of the authority charged with administering the Act but as it turned out, the Commissioner and his staff had the same expectations of the Board. Each party was particularly concerned with obtaining a satisfactory definition of the phrases "principal offices" and "significant demand" which appear in Sections 9(1) and 9(2) respectively of the Act. However, despite our mutual efforts we were unable to clarify the phrases satisfactorily.

Major Concerns of Minority Groups

88. Having held these initial consultations in Ottawa, we travelled to many small and large centres in every province in Canada. We were particularly anxious to appraise the need for bilingual federal services and the extent to which such services were provided already.

89. In the process of consulting individuals in their own localities, we received a number of unsolicited complaints about matters that were not always within our jurisdiction. No doubt this circumstance arose because the provisions in the Official Languages Act and the purpose of bilingual districts were not well understood. But it was also abundantly evident that residents of remote areas, and often not so remote areas, accumulate grievances and questions which are very important to them and which they wish to voice to any one connected with a government. We feel duty bound

to report these complaints, especially where they relate to language matters, even though we recognize that many of them may not lie within our jurisdiction.

90. Many of the official language minority groups whom we met, particularly in rural areas, were very concerned by the fact that younger members of their group were inclined to leave their community and to settle in urban centres where they lost their mother tongue. These groups frequently attributed the trend to the lack in their locality of employment and education in their own language. They also mentioned the inadequacies of the media of communication in their tongue. Obviously, language minorities are most concerned to secure education and radio and television programs for their children in their own language, as well as to obtain jobs.

(1) Education

91. Although a number of provinces have made strides recently in providing education in the French language, we encountered many requests for greater or improved facilities. The best that we could do was to remind our interrogators that education is a provincial responsibility and to promise that we would report their remarks in our findings.

92. Many English-speaking and French-speaking persons complained about the poor quality of instruction in the French language. The grants that have been available from the federal government for the advancement of the teaching of French were another subject for discussion. We were told more than once that the provincial departments of education which receive the grants did not always distribute them according to the desire of the local educational authority, whether that desire was expressed in the form of improving education for French-speaking students or of giving French instruction to English-speaking students. We were also informed that one of the detriments to improving the French language capacities of English-speaking students in some provinces was the discontinuation by local universities of the requirement of French as a subject for admission to the university. When this change occurred, the effect was felt in the secondary schools where students ceased to study French.

(2) Communication

93. In respect to broadcasting, we found that despite the strenuous attempts of the Canadian Broadcasting

Corporation to provide radio and television programs to the minority in its language, the efforts seemed to be bedeviled by factors beyond the control of man. We noted from our own experiences during visits that although the CBC had provided services for the minority, sometimes atmospheric, geographic or topographic conditions conspired to prevent the radio and television signals from being received satisfactorily in the localities for which they were intended. However, this misfortune was not universal. It should be added that where the minority had recently received improved services in its own language, the improvement was noted and greatly appreciated, in particular because children belonging to the minority profited immensely from hearing their own language spoken precisely.

94. There is no doubt in the minds of Board members that the provision of education in the language of the minority at every level of public schooling—elementary, secondary, and post-secondary—is a critical factor in the growth of the minority. The availability of radio and television programs in the language of the minority is almost as essential a factor to ensure the minority's survival and growth.

(3) Employment

95. The other issue that was raised frequently by minority groups, whether they were French-speaking or English-speaking, was the question of employment in the public service. We were told in many places that persons belonging to the minority group, whether it was French or English, were not given the same opportunity to obtain employment as persons belonging to the majority group. We cannot confirm or disprove the accuracy of these allegations since we did not believe it was the business of the Board to investigate such complaints. We can remark, however, that although it is common for a minority of any kind to believe it is the victim of discrimination, it is also apparent that discrimination does occur sometimes.

96. In some other instances, persons belonging to the majority and already holding jobs in the federal public service expressed concern that their positions might be threatened by the introduction of bilingual requirements into the civil service. We noted some change in this attitude after the President of the Treasury Board issued the statement "Bilingualism in the Public Service of Canada" in December 1972. This declaration diminished the apprehensions of a number of unilingual civil servants since it assured them that their jobs would not be placed in jeopardy by the

introduction of a greater degree of bilingualism in the federal public service and since it provided that the latter change would be implemented gradually during an extended period of at least five years.

Need for Bilingual Services at All Levels

97. Our meetings with people revealed that the need for bilingual federal services prevails at all levels of government and administration. To put the issue bluntly, satisfactory bilingual services are not achieved merely by having bilingual clerks to sell stamps at the counter of a local post office. We found that frequently a citizen has a need to communicate with someone at a more elevated level of administration than merely at a front desk. In such mundane matters, for example, as securing adequate manpower counselling or resolving problems concerning income tax or unemployment insurance, it is necessary for higher echelon civil servants to be able to deal with the minority in its own language when the issue advances beyond its initial phase. If bilingual services are to be meaningful, they should be available, within the limits of reason, to any citizen at all levels at which he or she deals with the government.

98. On a number of occasions we were told by federal civil servants whom we encountered on our visits that there was no demand in their locality for services in the minority language. Although their statement may have reflected their personal experience or have been valid in certain cases, for instance, where the figures for the language most often spoken at home indicated that persons belonging to the minority by mother tongue actually used the majority language more frequently, the minority tended to have a different explanation of the situation.

99. A number of members of the minority said that they would like to ask for services in their own language, but that they were discouraged by certain impediments. Thus, some had found from experience that their use of the minority language had fallen on deaf ears, or that if they insisted on using their language, they had to wait longer than otherwise to have their requests attended to. Some members of the minority were also embarrassed to use their own language publicly, or did not wish to embarrass or inconvenience the civil servant who apparently was unable to speak their language. Finally, we discovered that in some very small communities some members of the minority

were hesitant to use their language for fear of creating public dissension or personal recrimination.

100. The difference between the views of some civil servants and some members of the minority in regard to the demand for bilingual services rested in part, therefore, on different conceptions of need. It was clear to us that if the principle of equality of the two official languages is to be fulfilled, it is not sufficient to state that there is no need for bilingual services in areas entitled to them merely because there has been no demand. On the other hand, it was also clear to us that the minority must be willing to try to use its language in dealing with the federal government, or else there will be no effective demand.

101. Our visits revealed a phenomenon that occurred so often that it should be reported briefly for the record. When we presented the official statistics giving the size of the local language groups, the minority, whether French or English, frequently questioned the accuracy of the figures for their group. We concluded that a minority is prone to believe that its numbers are larger than those reported officially by Statistics Canada.

102. Our visits also revealed that although the report of the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board had not been implemented and no bilingual districts had been proclaimed, a number of federal departments and agencies had increased the supply of their services in the minority language. Certainly in a number of places there had been a marked improvement in the provision of services in French. This change was attributable no doubt to a number of influences, but to the extent that the First Board's report was a factor, we thought that it was an interesting example of a report having some effect possibly in improving conditions without its recommendations ever having been implemented formally.

Discrepancy in Services in English and French

103. Finally, our visits and local consultations revealed a marked discrepancy in the provision of federal services in the two official languages. We rarely, if ever, discovered a complaint or a case in which federal services had not been provided in English to the minority in Quebec, the one province in which that language group found itself in a minority. On the other hand, we did discover many instances and received many complaints about the lack of provision of French services by federal departments, agencies, and crown

corporations in a number of localities in which French-speaking persons were in the minority.

Necessity for Different Criteria

104. Thus, it became very clear to us that if the requirements of the Official Languages Act to ensure the equality of treatment of the two languages in similar minority situations were to be fulfilled, it would be necessary for the Board to be concerned with redressing the existing imbalance in the provision of services in the French language. For that reason the Board began to appreciate that it might not be possible to apply exactly the same criteria to the determination of bilingual districts and to the provision of bilingual services in all parts of Canada. Since there was a deficiency in services in one case which was not apparent in the other, it seemed clear that if equality were to be achieved and needs satisfied, the disparity would have to be rectified so that French-speaking minorities would receive services similar to those which the English-speaking minority had traditionally received in Quebec.

Priorities Proposed but Rejected

105. In this connection, it was suggested to us by spokesmen for a prominent association representing French Canadians that it might be realistic and wise for the Board to attach priorities to its recommendations of bilingual districts. Thus, while our report to the Governor in Council would acknowledge that there

was a need for services in the minority language, whether French or English, in all of the areas recommended as bilingual districts, it also would recognize the fact that there was a greater and more pressing need in certain districts than in others. Particular need might be more evident, for example, in areas which contained very large numbers of persons of the official language minority or which had suffered an especial deficiency in minority language services in the past. Such an arrangement would furnish the government with a list of priorities for districts which might be useful if some such factor as an inadequate supply of bilingual civil servants obliged the government to inaugurate bilingual districts gradually rather than all at once.

106. The Board found considerable merit in this suggestion and we discussed at some length whether or not it would be wise to list the recommended districts according to an order of priorities. We concluded, however, that it would be difficult, and probably invidious, to assign individual districts to a specific category within a formal set of priorities. We decided instead to try to convey the Board's assessment of the relative significance of proposed districts by describing rather fully in an introduction to each of the proposed districts the reasoning which had led us to recommend a particular area as a bilingual district. We believed also that the members of a minority residing in a proposed district would establish, in effect, a priority for the implementation of the district by the extent to which they made known their demands for services in their own language.

Chapter 5 — Issues and Rationale

Initial Steps

107. During the period that the inquiry was being conducted in various localities by small groups of Board members, the Board met in plenary sessions in Ottawa at fairly frequent intervals.¹¹ At these meetings we devoted most of our time to identifying potential bilingual districts and to discussing fundamental issues and problems in an effort to arrive at a rationale for our recommendations.

108. With the aid of the statistics from the census returns of 1971 and the maps prepared by our research director depicting the location of the official language minority groups, the Board was able to determine the regions in which it might recommend the creation of bilingual districts.

109. The Board found that although there had been changes from 1961 to 1971 in the relevant percentages of the language groups in many localities, the areas recommended as bilingual districts by the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board were still for the most part the regions which qualified as bilingual districts. In addition, the First Board had recommended that after the returns from the 1971 census had been completed, a Second Board should look at some other areas to discover whether or not they qualified as bilingual districts. Our Board examined the latter areas and we have included the results of our study in Part II of our report.

Complex Substantive Questions

110. The Board then commenced to examine some of the substantive questions and issues which arose when we made use of the Official Languages Act to determine the location and boundaries of specific bilingual districts. We found that the task was much more complex and difficult than one might imagine from a cursory reading of the Act.

¹¹ For a list of the plenary meetings of the Board and their dates, see *infra*, Part V, Appendix 3.

(1) Nature of a Bilingual District

111. One of the first questions we considered involved the nature of a bilingual district. Although we had already satisfied ourselves as to the legal requirements of a bilingual district,¹² we discussed whether or not a bilingual district should have some sort of cultural and social identity as well as a geographic boundary.

112. Some members of our Board felt that a bilingual district should be a community with a cultural character and that the creation of a district should assist the minority in a region to preserve and develop its social identity. Although not all of the members of the Board could accept this definition in its entirety, they did agree that the Act certainly intended that bilingual districts should be utilized to encourage the achievement of the equality of status of the two languages in Canada and, where possible, a more adequate provision of federal services to the official language minorities, whether French or English, throughout Canada.

113. Further discussion led us to conclude that a bilingual district might well have three functions. According to the Act, it would be an area in which federal services would be available at principal offices in both official languages. But because the provision of services in the minority's language would affirm the existence of the minority in that area, a district might also be a symbol, strengthening the minority's morale. For similar reasons, a district might prove to be an instrument to enable the minority to secure recognition and additional services from other sectors of government.

(2) Suitability of Requirement of Ten Per Cent

114. Another preliminary question concerned the suitability of the requirement in the Act that a minority group must amount by mother tongue to at least ten per cent of the population before the area can qualify

¹² *Supra*, paragraph 6, p. 3, and paragraphs 44-46, pp. 8-9.

as a bilingual district. We had heard various comments about this requirement during our consultations with individuals, groups, and provincial governments. Some questioned the practicality of using mother tongue as the criterion for determining the required minimal percentage of the minority, asserting that it would be more realistic to use as the standard the language most often spoken at home. Most members of the minority preferred that the criterion be mother tongue, but some believed that the figure of ten per cent was unreasonably large since it would exclude smaller minority groups which still required services in their own language. Other persons suggested that, on the contrary, the proportion should be greater than ten per cent and that an additional requirement of a minimal absolute number of individuals should be attached to the percentage. Obviously, the adoption of any of these changes would alter the number of areas qualifying as potential bilingual districts.

115. After considering these proposals at some length, the Board concluded that it would not be wise to recommend any of the suggested changes in the Act, either to alter the basis of the criterion from mother tongue to language most often spoken at home, or to decrease or increase the minimal requirement of ten per cent, or to add a supplementary prerequisite of a minimal absolute number of the minority.

116. Our reasoning was as follows. In regard to the first point, we could not see that it would be proper to recommend a change from mother tongue to language most often spoken at home as a basis for arriving at the figure of ten per cent of the minority without recommending that the same alteration be made in every section of the Act where the criterion of mother tongue was used.

117. The latter recommendation would involve a far-reaching change since the criterion of mother tongue is a fundamental principle in the legislation. It is established as the standard of measure throughout the Act and it is used for calculating the magnitudes of the majority locally as well as of the minority. The basic statistics compiled for the Board's work also have been determined by mother tongue, rather than by language most often spoken at home. Finally, some members of the Board believed that it would be to the minority's disadvantage to shift the base from mother tongue to language most often spoken at home since the figures for the latter tended often to be less than for the former. For all these reasons most members of the Board were not prepared to endorse the first proposed change in the Act.

118. The Board decided that it also was not in favour of the second suggestion for amendment, namely, that the minimal requirement of ten per cent for the minority be either decreased or increased. We hesitated to recommend reducing or increasing the percentage by either a major or minor amount. We assumed that the Parliament of Canada must have had good reason for choosing the figure of ten per cent, and that since we had no evidence which we were prepared to offer to support an argument for altering this percentage significantly in either direction, for example, to reduce it to two per cent or to increase it to eighteen or twenty per cent, we could not propose a drastic change. Although we realized that because any figure is to some extent arbitrary, a minor variation might be suggested, for instance, a decrease to eight per cent or an increase to twelve per cent, we could not see that there was sufficient evidence to justify the recommendation of even such a minor change in either direction.

119. After considerable deliberation, we also decided not to endorse the final proposal that the Act should be amended to add the requirement that the ten per cent of the minority necessary for a bilingual district should amount to a certain minimal number of persons belonging to the minority mother tongue group in the area.

120. At first we believed that it might be advisable to adopt such a criterion in order to avoid the creation of districts which had a very small minority and total population as well as a limited number of federal government services. But after studying the problem further, we concluded that the recommendation of this added requirement would impose a serious disadvantage upon some rural areas which, though sparsely populated, still had a need for bilingual services.

121. There was the additional problem that if we were to recommend such an amendment, it would be necessary to specify an actual number of persons as the minimal figure. We did not see how such a figure could be determined except by an arbitrary decision which might be unfair to certain groups of individuals who would be excluded because they happened to be less numerous than the figure selected. Furthermore, if such a figure were inserted in the Act, it would apply to every potential district throughout Canada. This step would hardly be advisable, we thought, because the diversity of conditions in different parts of the country calls for a variation in the application of criteria. In brief, we believed that the addition of a numerical requirement would increase the rigidity of the implementation of the Act when flexibility is more desirable. We

therefore decided not to support this final suggestion for amending the Act.

122. We followed the same principle in our own work. We did not adopt a set minimal figure for either the minority or total population as a basic standard of measurement for a prospective bilingual district. Instead, we identified the areas which qualified as bilingual districts because they had a minority amounting to at least ten per cent and then we determined whether it was advisable in light of local circumstances to recommend them as districts.

(3) Difficulty of Defining "Principal Offices"

123. Continuing our examination of substantive issues, the Board found it difficult to interpret satisfactorily that portion of Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act which states that it is the duty of every department, agency, judicial, quasi-judicial, or administrative body, or crown corporation of the government of Canada to ensure that at each of its principal offices in a federal bilingual district members of the public can obtain available services from it and can communicate with it in both official languages. We spent many hours trying to determine precisely what was meant by the phrase "principal offices". It was obvious that we were not alone in this difficulty since we had discovered that the Commissioner of Official Languages, various government departments and civil servants, and a law officer of the crown whom we consulted had had trouble defining the phrase and arriving at a solution.

124. Principal offices are nowhere defined in the Official Languages Act and they do not correspond to any specific level or type of activity in the public service. Apparently they do not include "head or central" offices since these bureaus are referred to separately in Section 9(1). But presumably principal offices may be any other kind of office, such as, for instance, regional, local or municipal offices, or even workshops, warehouses, laboratories, or other kinds of federal establishments. They may deal directly with the public or they may be remote from the public and concerned only with internal administration.

125. Moreover, it is not clear whether the phrase "principal offices" refers to the highest office in the administrative hierarchy of each of all of the departments and agencies of the federal government in bilingual districts or only to those most active and important in dispensing services to the public. Although the meaning could be construed in either way, the difference could be important to citizens. When public services are decentralized to meet the needs of the population, the

higher regional offices become coordinating centres for the local offices, having very little or no direct contact with the public. Citizens who wish to communicate in their own language with officials at a lower level in the administrative hierarchy might feel frustrated if they discovered that the highest and perhaps most remote office of a government department or agency in a bilingual district was the only bureau required to have bilingual services.

126. The Board recognized that the ambiguity of the phrase "principal offices" was not without advantage since its very indefiniteness might permit greater flexibility and adaptability in applying this clause in the Act to the varied local conditions that prevail in different parts of Canada. Certainly, the phrase avoids the rigidity which has appeared, for instance, in the definition of certain language rights in Belgium.

127. Nevertheless, we still felt that it would be desirable to have at least a working definition of the phrase. We therefore attempted, though unsuccessfully, to arrive at a satisfactory interpretation. At one point, for example, it was suggested to us that the term "principal offices" should be construed to mean all offices through which the federal government, in any activity and at any administrative level, communicates directly with the public or receives communications from it. But the Board decided that such an interpretation would be too sweeping and too demanding an obligation to be recommended to the government.

128. After a great deal of discussion and reflection, the Board concluded that although we could not offer a satisfactory definition for the phrase, it would be wise to recommend that the term "principal offices" be interpreted in such a way that bilingual services would not be confined to some higher office which might be remote from the public. We believed that they should be provided, according to need and common sense, in all offices dealing with the public in bilingual districts. The phrase "principal offices" is obviously a relative concept which the Board believed should be interpreted broadly for the convenience of the public who live within a bilingual district or who live outside a district but use services therein.

(4) Large or Small Districts

129. The problem of defining principal offices satisfactorily was of particular concern to the Board when we considered the question of determining whether bilingual districts should be large or small geographical areas.

130. Obviously, if a bilingual district were extensive, it might be of greater service to the minority language group because it would likely contain a greater number of federal services. If it also included most of the minority in the region, the minority group would profit no doubt from an increased sense of cohesion and recognition. But if the area were so large that it contained many federal offices, the minority could find itself less well served in its own language because only one office of each agency located in the area might be required under Section 9(1) to render services in the minority's language.

131. On the other hand, if the district were small, there likely would be fewer offices and it might be easier to determine the principal office. To take the extreme example, if the area were so small that it possessed only one office of a federal agency, that bureau could not escape the definition of being the principal office of the agency in the district. However, the services rendered by the designated office might be very limited, as minor as those provided, for example, in a local branch post office. If such a circumstance occurred, we believed that the real intent of the Act would be defeated. Moreover, the creation of a large number of small districts would lead to an unreasonable proliferation of bilingual districts which might resemble on a map what the Board referred to facetiously as "a rash of measles".

132. While we hesitated, therefore, to recommend a great many miniscule areas, we also realized that there were difficulties associated with the creation of very large regions. In addition to the argument that large districts might result in the designation of fewer principal offices than desirable, we discovered that there were several other disadvantages to more extensive areas.

133. First, in order to include all of the persons of an official language minority scattered throughout a large bilingual district, it often would have been necessary to include within the proposed district some concentrations of persons having a mother tongue other than French or English. We were warned many times by various governmental spokesmen and local groups that the inclusion of such persons within an area labelled a bilingual district might elicit considerable opposition and lead to local dissension and antagonism.

134. Second, we were told by representatives of at least two provincial governments, as well as by other persons, that it would be unwise to recommend bilingual districts which seemed to be unduly large and irregular in shape, giving the impression that they had

been extended rather artificially to include dispersed elements of the minority.

135. Third, while some members of the minority favoured a larger area as a more visible and obvious sign of their existence, others were opposed to large districts because they thought that the latter might diminish the number of services offered at present in their own community. They feared that the federal government might move some of its existing local offices to a more populous centre in a larger, newly proclaimed bilingual district.

Possibility of Districts Overlapping Provinces

136. As we debated the problem of the most suitable size of a bilingual district, another question arose. We wondered whether districts should be created as entities within a province or whether they should be areas which overlapped two provinces, or perhaps even more than two provinces.

137. It was pointed out to us that a geographical boundary such as a provincial frontier seldom, if ever, coincides with the boundary of a group having a particular mother tongue. Consequently, it might be more sensible to recommend bilingual districts that corresponded to the perimeters of official language minority groups than to confine districts to specific political units such as provinces.

138. One illustration was presented to us, but its ramifications proved to be discouraging. Our attention was drawn to the fact that more than 96 per cent of all Canadians of French mother tongue and almost all Canadians of English mother tongue who find themselves in a minority position live in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick. Thus, theoretically it would be possible to provide bilingual services for nearly all members of both official language minorities in Canada by recommending the creation of this entire area as one bilingual district. However, the district would be gigantic since it would be composed of three large provinces.

139. The district would still be enormous if only a smaller portion of the area were recommended, for instance, the crescent-shaped sector extending from Sudbury, Ontario, to Moncton, New Brunswick, which is often called "the bilingual belt" because it contains the heaviest concentration of the two minorities. In light of the unfavourable reaction that was evident in some quarters to the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board's recommendation that the entire province of Quebec be declared a bilingual district, we doubted that

the inclusion of all of Quebec, or a large part of it, in a bilingual district would be welcome.

140. Moreover, it did not seem feasible to recommend a huge area in which there would be little or no need in many places for bilingual federal services since so many of the local offices would be serving unilingual populations of either English or French mother tongue. We were also aware that the Treasury Board was already taking steps to provide bilingual services, where necessary, in this large area. Thus we decided not to adopt the solution of recommending all of these three provinces, or parts of them, as one district.

141. There were two instances in which we considered the possibility of recommending a bilingual district overlapping two provinces. We contemplated the advisability of recommending a district composed of West Labrador and a small adjacent portion of the province of Quebec and another district composed of contiguous parts of Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

142. However, although there were no objections to these combinations from the provincial governments which were consulted on the point, the Board decided on reflection that the disadvantages of this kind of arrangement outweighed any possible advantages. For one thing, residents of a bilingual district composed of portions of two provinces which happened to be contiguous might not have much community of interest or feel that they belonged together in any administrative sense. Furthermore, the federal offices located in such areas or serving them might not be related administratively. Finally, since the Official Languages Act provides for the possibility of the federal government cooperating with provincial governments in establishing federal bilingual districts that are conterminous with provincial bilingual areas, it seemed to us that a federal district which contained portions of two provinces might complicate the negotiations by involving three governments rather than two.

Method Used in Finland

143. To solve the problem of determining the size of bilingual districts, it was suggested that we might adopt a system somewhat similar to the method used in Finland where certain specific urban concentrations are designated as bilingual districts.

144. The Finnish system utilizes the local government unit as the area in which to provide bilingual services to the majority of its population who speak Finnish and to the minority who speak Swedish. Finland designates a unit of its local government, called a commune,

as officially bilingual if it includes in its territory a language minority amounting to at least ten per cent of the population or at least 5,000 persons. If these requirements are not met, the commune is officially unilingual in the language of the majority, whether Finnish or Swedish. For administrative purposes, one or more communes may form a district which is unilingual if all of the communes comprising it are of the same language. But if the constituent communes are bilingual or have different languages, the administrative district is considered to be bilingual. School districts in Finland are organized in a similar fashion.¹³

145. The Board noted that a number of advantages might be gained by applying the Finnish system to Canada. In addition to obviating the dilemma about determining the size of bilingual districts, it would simplify some other problems. For instance, if urban concentrations were adopted as districts, many federal services would automatically be included in bilingual districts because a large number of such services are now located in urban centres. Districts also would consist of entities already in existence and well known to the population who could identify with them readily. Urban districts, moreover, would fit well into provincial judicial, educational, and administrative structures since the latter are often organized by municipalities. This convenience might encourage provinces and municipalities to provide bilingual services for their own respective functions.

146. Adoption of the method would also create throughout Canada a set of rather similar bilingual districts which would be flexible and capable of keeping step with the trend towards increasing urbanization. Finally, such districts could reinforce a minority group by providing federal services in its language in urban centres where studies have revealed that if the percentage of the minority is rather small, the minority's rate of retention of its language tends to be lower than in comparable rural areas.

147. While we found, therefore, many attractions in the Finnish plan as a guide for Canada, we discovered, after further thought, sufficient objections to discourage us from recommending its adoption in Canada. It was pointed out that although the suggestion might be applied in some regions of the country, it could not be applied uniformly across Canada because of the variations among the provinces in the definitions of municipalities. In the prairies, for example, there are apparently six different kinds of municipali-

¹³ Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I, *The Official Languages*, op. cit., pp. 75-77.

ties. There was the additional difficulty that since municipalities are the creatures of provinces in Canada, the boundaries of bilingual districts conforming to municipalities would be subject to provincial control rather than to the federal government's decision.

148. Use of the method might forestall, moreover, in some places the application of Section 9(1) to all those federal services that are now available in rural areas or that might be provided in such areas in the future. Finally, the most serious objection to the plan is that the number of cities in Canada in which the official language minority amounts to ten per cent of the local population is not very great.

149. The comparison between Finland and Canada is not valid since in Canada there are substantial numbers of the French minority dispersed across the country while in Finland the minority tends to be concentrated in relatively few coastal communes. We concluded, therefore, that it would not be advisable to try to utilize the Finnish model in Canada.

150. Reviewing our reflections on the size of bilingual districts, we decided that we could not adopt a general principle concerning the optimal geographical area of a bilingual district. We considered it wiser to examine each potential district on its own merits, determining whether or not to recommend it on the basis of all the factors involved, including the degree to which size was significant in the particular instance.

151. We continued to believe that the essential factor in recommending the creation of districts was the need to ensure the provision of bilingual federal services in areas which met the requirements in the Act. We also kept in mind the importance of recommending districts that were consonant with the realities of administrative common sense and human interactions, particularly where the latter encouraged the community life of an official language minority.

(5) Proposal to Use Section 9(2) Exclusively

152. If the provision of bilingual services were the prime consideration, it might be asked whether bilingual districts were essential to furnishing such services or whether they might be provided by some other means. Among those who have suggested alternatives is the Commissioner of Official Languages. In his Second Annual Report to Parliament tabled in 1973, the Commissioner weighed the advantages and disadvantages of providing bilingual federal services by the establishment of districts according to Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act or by the use instead of Section 9(2)

which requires the federal government to provide bilingual services in areas beyond bilingual districts under certain circumstances.¹⁴ The Commissioner speculated in Hypothesis B in his Report that Section 9(2) could be applied more effectively to furnish bilingual services generally than could Section 9(1) and that therefore bilingual districts outside the National Capital Region might not be needed.¹⁵

153. We doubt that Section 9(2) can be utilized as successfully as the Commissioner and some other persons have suggested. The Board spent a great deal of time examining this subsection of the Act in an effort to determine its utility. The latter seems to depend upon the interpretation that may be put upon the words "feasible" and "significant demand" which appear in this clause. Since the point is important, it is useful to reproduce here the whole of Section 9(2) as it appears in the Act, to wit:

9(2)—Every department and agency of the Government of Canada and every judicial, quasi-judicial or administrative body or Crown Corporation established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada has, in addition to but without derogating from the duty imposed upon it by subsection (1), the duty to ensure, to the extent that it is feasible for it to do so, that members of the public in locations other than those referred to in that subsection, where there is a significant demand therefor by such persons, can obtain available services from and can communicate with it in both official languages.

154. Clearly, Section 9(2) is meant to be supplementary to 9(1) which requires the federal government to provide bilingual services within its offices in the National Capital Region, or at other head offices, and at each of its principal offices in bilingual districts. Obviously, if there were few bilingual districts, the federal government might be expected to provide a great many bilingual services under Section 9(2). Indeed, if the Commissioner's Hypothesis B were adopted, the federal government would provide all of its bilingual services under Section 9(2).

155. However, the Commissioner himself recognized in his Report that to be successful his hypothesis might require four conditions. It was the fourth of his conditions that we found to be the impediment to the wholesale implementation of his hypothesis. He noted that the fourth condition on which his hypothesis rested was that "the government would explain to federal management at all levels with what values it wished the words 'significant demand' and 'feasibility' to be measured." He also described the phrases as "vague".

¹⁴ Commissioner of Official Languages, *Second Annual Report, 1971-1972*, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1973, pp. 26-34.

¹⁵ His arguments are given in *ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

156. We found ourselves in agreement with the Commissioner in his remarks about the need for direction by the government and in his criticism of the vagueness of the phrases. Although we could appreciate that the lack of precision of the words "significant demand" and "feasible" might have one advantage in that conceivably it could make the implementation of the Act more flexible, thereby permitting departments and agencies to adjust the supply of bilingual services to suit varying local needs and demands, we shared the Commissioner's concern about the indefiniteness of the phrases. If the government did not define the terms for federal management at all levels, as the Commissioner suggested it should, the words might simply turn out to be hollow phrases which resulted in an inadequate or uneven supply of bilingual services.

157. To avoid this eventuality, the Commissioner believed that it would be wise for the government to instruct its public administrators "to interpret the above two standards with attitudes of common sense, generosity and imagination". Since this action had not yet been taken, we felt that it would be inadvisable to leave the provision of bilingual services solely to Section 9(2) and the discretion of civil servants.

158. For this reason and because, despite our efforts, we were never able to arrive at a satisfactory and agreed definition either of the word "feasible" or the phrase "significant demand", we did not believe that Section 9(2) could replace entirely Section 9(1), as the Commissioner proposed in his Hypothesis B. We still favoured the creation of some bilingual districts. However, we did foresee that Section 9(2) could be used on occasion either as an alternative to Section 9(1) or as a supplement to it. In due course we shall suggest the ways in which Section 9(2) might thus be employed.

(6) Justifications for Bilingual Districts

159. In weighing the advantages of providing bilingual services by means of bilingual districts under Section 9(1) against the advantages of providing such services by administrative arrangements under Section 9(2), the Commissioner himself listed eight justifications for the existence of bilingual districts.¹⁰

160. Summarizing his points in a somewhat different order, we noted that he argued that "bilingual districts would give official minority-language rights a clear legal

underpinning", thus avoiding the danger that Section 9(2)'s standards of "significant demand" and "feasibility" might leave the provision of bilingual services, to quote the Commissioner's report, "to inconsistent, or even capriciously inadequate, interpretation by local management". He also remarked that "districts offer isolated official-language communities a powerful symbolic recognition that the two official languages enjoy equal status on a national scale." He observed moreover, that "districts can educate local linguistic majority groups to the minority's rights, and perhaps encourage provinces and municipalities to provide bilingual districts or services of their own." Districts also could provide a stimulus and a guide to federal administrators to offer bilingual services in certain areas, and they could furnish "better opportunities to more minority official-language federal employees to work in their mother-tongue" without diminishing any employee's rights. "From the public's viewpoint," the Commissioner added, "the ten per cent yardstick for defining districts . . . seems a simple and reasonable, if arbitrary, standard" for providing bilingual services and it gives administrators "a plausible 'critical mass'" for justifying such facilities. Finally, he commented that the "new districts would clarify and confirm his duty to defend language rights within plainly marked 'bastions'."

161. Since the Board would like to be of the greatest possible assistance to the Commissioner in protecting official language rights in Canada, we believed that the last reason alone might be deemed to be sufficient justification for the creation of bilingual districts. However, the other reasons given by the Commissioner in the summation above were also more than convincing to the Board.

162. While we were grateful to him for stating so well the case for bilingual districts, we thought that there was an additional point which the Commissioner did not mention. If bilingual services can be provided satisfactorily under Section 9(2) alone, the problem of supplying such services adequately throughout Canada should already have been solved since Section 9(2) has been in existence ever since the Act went into force in 1969. Thus, by 1975 there had been a period of six years during which the services could have been furnished. Yet, by the Commissioner's own admission, this goal had not been achieved. The Board can confirm the Commissioner's acknowledgement since we discovered during our inquiry a number of localities in which there were deficiencies in federal services, at least in French. Consequently, there still appeared to be a need for some bilingual districts.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

(7) Treasury Board's Plans for Services

163. We were well aware that many federal departments and agencies might have appeared to have made use of Section 9(2) already since they had provided bilingual services in a number of their offices in various locations in Canada where such services seemed to be required. But we were also aware that in some instances certain federal institutions took this action in anticipation of the creation of bilingual districts in these regions. In other instances they apparently responded to encouragement by the Commissioner of Official Languages. We realized that the Treasury Board has been very conscious of the need to provide bilingual services in many local areas and that it has undertaken a massive effort to try to meet the need. The department has conducted a very detailed and thorough study to identify both the areas and offices in which the local official language minority would require services in its own language. In order to be able to staff such offices it has also attempted to designate at all levels the language requirements of positions and the language capacities of the civil servants involved.

164. We examined the work of the Treasury Board in this respect, reviewing in particular several documents. The first was the statement issued by the President of the Treasury Board, which described the principles and plans for implementing bilingual policies in certain areas. The second was a very large and detailed manual prepared by the Treasury Board to implement its policies, while the third and fourth were the guidelines which the Treasury Board issued in regard to the language requirements of positions.¹⁷ We also consulted with several senior Treasury Board officials who were in charge of planning and conducting the survey and determining the guidelines. In addition, before we had learned of the Treasury Board's more extensive plans, we had initiated a modest survey of our own to discover where federal bilingual services were already offered.

165. We were very impressed by the efforts which the Treasury Board was making to extend bilingual services. Some of our members felt that if the Treasury Board's plans were carried out as well as they had been conceived, there might be less need for bilingual districts in certain localities than there would be otherwise. Those holding this view noted that the Treasury

Board's guidelines anticipated the provision of bilingual services, where necessary, in those areas in Canada in which both official languages were in relatively common use. In practice, this would mean in the National Capital Region and in certain parts of Quebec, including Montreal, and in the northern and eastern portions of Ontario and New Brunswick, that is, in the "bilingual belt" from Sudbury to Moncton.

166. These members noted also that since the Treasury Board planned to provide bilingual supervisory and central services for public servants in these parts of New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario where there was a concentration of both official language groups, the dimensions of bilingual services might be greater than those furnished in bilingual districts if the latter's services were confined entirely to "over the counter" functions. Treasury Board officials indicated that they would like to try to provide eventually such supervisory and central services in other regions within which bilingual districts were located.

167. While welcoming in principle an augmentation of services, these members of our Board believed that if bilingual supervisory services were to be provided for a large number of rather small bilingual districts scattered throughout the country, the result would be the creation of a heavy superstructure of bilingual capacities that might prove to be unreasonably onerous. Therefore they favoured relying somewhat more on the Treasury Board's approach to providing bilingual facilities under Section 9(2) in the so-called "bilingual belt" and somewhat less on the device of bilingual districts under Section 9(1). However, the majority of the Board came to the conclusion that although the Treasury Board's policy was commendable, it was not sufficient in itself and that, for the reasons already mentioned,¹⁸ there was still a need for bilingual districts.

(8) Problem of Large Urban Centres

168. When we pinpointed on a map the location of areas that qualified under the Act as bilingual districts, we noted two problems.

169. First, most of the official language minority groups which amounted by mother tongue to ten per cent or more of the local population were located in rural areas, such as West Labrador, the Gaspé, Northern Ontario, or expanses of the Prairie provinces, to take only a few examples, where there were rather

¹⁷ The documents are respectively: The Hon. C. M. Drury, "Bilingualism in the Public Service of Canada", A statement by the President of the Treasury Board, December 14, 1972; *Manual of Official Languages Administrative Structure*, Volumes 1 and 2, Treasury Board, 1973; TB Circular 1973-88, June 29, 1973; and TB Circular 1973-97, July 16, 1973.

¹⁸ *Supra*, paragraphs 159-162, p. 25.

few federal offices compared to the number of federal facilities in urban centres. The Board might recommend bilingual districts in the rural areas which qualified as districts, but one might well ask to what advantage if federal services therein were quite limited in number.

170. Second, there were a number of urban centres in which there were many thousands of residents belonging to an official language group which was in the minority. But few of these urban concentrations could be recommended as bilingual districts since the minority in the locality rarely amounted by mother tongue to at least ten per cent of the population. The problem was particularly evident where the minority was French-speaking, for example, in Toronto and Vancouver. In 1971, there were 37,250 persons of French mother tongue in Metropolitan Toronto but this number amounted to only 1.8 per cent of the total population. In the same year the census division known as Greater Vancouver had 17,630 residents of French mother tongue who constituted, however, only 1.7 per cent of the area's population. Almost all of Canada's larger urban centres fell into this category of not having a sufficiently large percentage of the official language minority to permit the recommendation of a bilingual district.

171. This category also included all of the provincial capital cities in Canada. Not one of the ten capitals had a mother tongue official language minority amounting to at least ten per cent in 1971. In fact, nine of the capitals had proportions of the minority which constituted less than four per cent while the tenth capital had only six per cent. Yet provincial capital cities often contain a large number of federal government services and bureaus which might be defined as "principal offices".

172. This problem was illustrated strikingly by four examples: Toronto, Edmonton, Quebec, and Winnipeg. In 1971 the city of Toronto had a French mother tongue population amounting to 15,760 or 2.2 per cent, the city of Edmonton 13,835 or 3.2 per cent, and the then city of Winnipeg 7,240 or 2.9 per cent. In Quebec city the English-speaking minority amounted by mother tongue to 6,330 individuals, which was only 3.4 per cent of the municipal population. Although the neighbouring city of Sillery qualified as a district because its 1,500 persons of English mother tongue constituted 10.8 per cent of the population, there were so few federal services in Sillery that it would have been almost meaningless to recommend Sillery as a district. It would also have been rather ridiculous to recommend a locality which had few services while

passing over perforce the nearby urban centre which had many services and "principal offices".

173. The problem was even more evident in the case of the area containing Winnipeg, St. Boniface, and St. Vital. In 1971 before Winnipeg was extended the three communities were adjoining but separate cities. St. Boniface had a mother tongue French minority of 14,440 persons, amounting to 30.9 per cent of the local population, but few federal services. St. Vital had 3,420 persons of French mother tongue, constituting 10.4 per cent of the population, but the city also had few federal services. Most federal services and most of the "principal offices" in the area were located in the adjacent city of Winnipeg. However, although Winnipeg had an additional 7,240 persons of French mother tongue, the city could not be recommended as a bilingual district under the Act because its official language minority amounted to only 2.9 per cent of the population. Thus, although we might have recommended St. Boniface and St. Vital as bilingual districts, one might well ask again to what avail since almost all of the services in the area and most of the "principal offices" of federal departments and agencies were located in Winnipeg.

174. The problem of how to provide bilingual services in large urban centres, including provincial capitals, is a question which has troubled both the First and Second Bilingual Districts Advisory Boards, as well as the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Commissioner of Official Languages, and a number of federal departments and agencies. All have agreed that the issue is important because of the large number of persons involved. In some cases the urban centres concerned have greater numbers of the minority than some of the bilingual districts which are recommended. The problem is apt to grow more serious as time passes since the percentage of Canadians living in urban centres continues to increase rapidly and since a minority's rate of retention of its language tends to be less in urban centres than in rural areas. The difficulty has been to find a satisfactory solution. The present Board spent a good deal of time discussing the problem. In an attempt to discover a solution, we considered several different proposals.

(9) Proposal to Extend "Significant Demand"

175. One solution proposed was that the term "significant demand" should be interpreted generously as a sanction for providing bilingual services. As noted pre-

viously.¹⁹ Section 9(2) of the Official Languages Act states that every department and agency of the federal government has the duty to provide bilingual services to the public not only in bilingual districts but in other localities, where feasible, and where there is "a significant demand" for such services. Accordingly, it was suggested to us that all federal offices serving a bilingual district should consider the existence of such a district in their jurisdiction as "a significant demand" and furnish the bilingual services required. Nevertheless, after reflection, we decided that this assumption was too sweeping to be recommended as a method of providing bilingual services.

176. We were aware that in somewhat similar circumstances the Commissioner of Official Languages has invited some agencies to provide bilingual services as though the offices were located within bilingual districts.²⁰ However willing the Commissioner has been to stretch the terms of the Act in this regard, we thought that there should be a firmer foundation established for the availability of bilingual services in urban centres outside bilingual districts and in provincial capitals. We examined, therefore, two additional proposals.

(10) Proposal to Create Bilingual Communities

177. One imaginative plan presented to the Board suggested the creation of entities called bilingual communities as well as the establishment of bilingual districts. It was argued that this two-tiered concept might solve the problem of defining "significant demand" and "principal offices" and also avoid the need to recommend a profusion of rather small districts which would have limited utility because the minority within them would probably seek its bilingual services from urban centres outside the bilingual district.

178. If this plan were adopted, the Board would recommend the creation of bilingual districts for areas which were viable because the proportion of the minority population to the total in the area would be well in excess of ten per cent and the absolute number of the minority would also be substantial. Such obvious districts likely would contain major service centres and a well developed road network which would make these services accessible.

179. For an area lacking these characteristics but still possessing a need for bilingual services, an entity known as a bilingual community might be created. A bilin-

gual community might be recommended, for example, in an extensive rural area which had a relatively small proportion of the minority in the range of ten per cent. Because of the region's agrarian nature, the population might be very dispersed and the area might not contain any sizable urban service centre. Residents of the community could be given access to bilingual services in a designated urban centre located nearby in a bilingual district. While being geographically separate from the district and not part of it, the community could be associated with it in this administrative way and profit from the bilingual services provided by the district's federal offices since the latter would be requested to serve the residents of the community as well as of the district. A bilingual community of this kind would not require a defined boundary but might simply be designated by reference to a general area.

180. Some members of the Board believed that the concept of a bilingual community might very well meet the needs for bilingual services in certain areas, for example, in some parts of the Prairie provinces. They also thought that the plan might offer a solution for the provision of bilingual services in some large urban centres, such as Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Quebec city, where the minority was very numerous but less than ten per cent of the total population. They conceived that in cases of this kind the urban area might be designated as a bilingual community and federal agencies within it might be expected to furnish bilingual services under Section 9(2) of the Act. The fact that an urban centre was designated as a bilingual community might facilitate the expansion of the interpretation of the two vague criteria in Section 9(2), "feasible" and "significant demand", on which the supply of bilingual services rests.

181. We recognized that the proposal to create bilingual communities in addition to bilingual districts had certain definite advantages. Bilingual communities would provide bilingual services to a greater number of persons than might be accommodated otherwise by bilingual districts. Since communities would not have specific boundaries, they would not involve the drawing of set lines on a map. This modification might reduce some of the irritants that the Commissioner of Official Languages noted as possible reactions to the proclamation of demarcated bilingual districts. The less formal and less obvious nature of bilingual communities might also arouse less opposition than bilingual districts from citizens whose mother tongue was other than French or English.

¹⁹ *Supra*, paragraphs 152-158, pp. 24-25.

²⁰ See his *Second Annual Report, 1971-1972*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

182. Since bilingual communities would not have boundaries, they would be more flexible than districts. They would also be less permanent since communities are not mentioned in the Official Languages Act and are therefore not subject to Section 13(4) of the statute which prevents the abolition of a district after it has been proclaimed.

183. Finally, the greater flexibility and more indeterminate character of a bilingual community could conform more readily to the natural, habitual, or changing patterns of mobility of the residents of an area. Because of the ease of contemporary transportation and communication, individuals do not remain fixed in the localities in which they reside but travel frequently, visiting in particular their regional service centre. Studies have shown, for instance, that some members of French-speaking minorities in Canada are prepared to travel a considerable distance to an urban centre in which they can find specific services in their own language. Bilingual communities would accommodate such patterns of mobility and also be free to expand or contract in response to the socio-economic dynamics of the region and the preferences of its residents.

184. Despite these advantages, the Board could not see its way clear to adopting the proposal to recommend the creation of bilingual communities in addition to bilingual districts.

185. There were several reasons for our negative conclusion. First, it seemed to us that notwithstanding the more expansive nature of bilingual communities, it would still be necessary for practical reasons to establish boundaries to them. Thus the advantages to be gained from the assumption of the indeterminate character of communities were somewhat illusory. Some members of the Board also believed that the recommendation and creation of two kinds of bilingual entities, communities and districts, might be confusing to the public. The third reason was the most compelling. After obtaining legal advice on the point, we concluded that it would not be possible for the Board to recommend formally the establishment of bilingual communities since the latter are not specified within the Official Languages Act.

186. We realized, however, that this limitation did not prevent us from recommending to the Governor in Council that the concept be kept in mind as a means of improving the provision of federal bilingual services, and that the merits of the plan be studied further. We shall make this point in our supplementary recommendations.

(11) Proposal to Use Sections 9(2) and 10 and Home Language

187. Having examined and rejected the several alternatives discussed above, we came to the conclusion that the most practical method of providing bilingual services in large urban centres was to recommend that the federal government should use Section 9(2) and Section 10 of the Official Languages Act in those urban concentrations in which it was probable that there would be a reasonably extensive demand for such services. We believed that this kind of demand might be determined best by establishing a minimal size of the minority as judged by the figures for language most often spoken at home rather than by mother tongue. Our recommendation on this subject therefore differs from previous suggestions in that we are proposing that "significant demand" be interpreted by the criterion of the statistics for the official language most frequently spoken at home instead of by the criterion of mother tongue.

188. We arrived at this conclusion by reasoning in the following manner. Section 9(2), as explained previously,²¹ obliges federal institutions outside bilingual districts to provide bilingual services where it is "feasible" and where there is a "significant demand". Urban centres which contain an official language minority group that is large but less than the ten per cent of the total population required for a bilingual district would clearly fall into the category of locations described in Section 9(2) if the demand within them for bilingual services were "significant". The difficulty has been to define satisfactorily the meaning of the latter word.

189. Although it seemed to us to be impossible to state precisely what constitutes "significant demand", we believed that a definition would come closer to reality if it were related to the number of persons who spoke the minority language most often at home rather than to mother tongue. We reasoned that if there were in an urban area an appreciable number of individuals who spoke the minority language most often at home, it was likely that there would be a sizable number of persons who would want to use the minority language to communicate with federal government offices in that locality. Indeed, unilingual members of the minority would have to use their mother tongue to communicate with federal public servants. In both instances, a sizable number of persons using the minority language would create "a significant demand" for services in that language, and the provision of bilingual services might then be "feasible".

²¹ *Supra*, paragraphs 40-41, p. 8, and paragraph 153, p. 24.

190. Thus, at this point, we changed the criterion that we had used elsewhere for calculating the size of the minority. In deciding whether or not to recommend an area as a bilingual district, we invariably used the criterion of mother tongue for measuring the sizes of the minority and majority official language groups. We have explained previously why we used mother tongue.²² In brief, there was one very persuasive reason. The Official Languages Act required us to use mother tongue data as the criteria for determining bilingual districts.

191. However, this restriction did not prevail when we considered the problem of providing bilingual services in large urban areas. Since we were seeking to furnish these services under Sections 9(2) and 10 which do not mention mother tongue, we were not bound by the latter criterion.

192. The question that remained, therefore, was to determine the size of the number of persons who, customarily speaking the minority language at home, might create "a significant demand" for federal services in the minority official language. After a good deal of discussion, we came to the conclusion that the satisfactory minimal number of persons in such a case might be 5,000.

193. In arriving at this specific decision, we were influenced by five considerations. Although the first two have already been alluded to, they bear repeating. First, if there were at least 5,000 persons habitually using the minority language at home in preference to the majority language, there likely would be "a critical mass" of individuals who wished to use the minority language to communicate with local federal offices. Second, a group that was this large undoubtedly would include some members who were unilingual and who therefore would have to use their language to obtain services. Third, the figure of 5,000 was identical to the number of the minority required in a commune in Finland if the commune were to be designated as officially bilingual.²³

194. Fourth, in actual fact the "critical mass" of those using the minority language in a large urban centre might be increased somewhat by the addition of travellers seeking federal services in the minority official language. It is obvious that large urban centres attract many travellers and visitors. Section 10 of the Official Languages Act requires federal agencies to provide

bilingual services to the travelling public in all locations where there is a significant and regular demand.²⁴ We believed, therefore, that we might bring Sections 9(2) and (10) together conveniently at this point to ensure the provisions of bilingual services to residents and travellers in large urban concentrations. Used conjointly in this way, each clause in the Act might facilitate and reinforce the implementation of the other clause.

195. Finally, we came to the conclusion that it was advisable to choose the figure of 5,000 persons speaking the minority language most often at home as the minimal criterion for recommending the provision of bilingual services under Sections 9(2) and 10 because the selection of that figure produced a reasonable group of urban areas that could be furnished with bilingual services by this means. The group would be comprised of the census metropolitan areas of Toronto, Winnipeg, Quebec, St. Catharines-Niagara, Edmonton, and Vancouver, and the census agglomeration of Sherbrooke.²⁵

196. We used the category of census metropolitan areas, where possible, rather than the category of incorporated centres because the former in most cases were more extensive geographical areas and had larger total populations than the latter. The concept of a census metropolitan area also had some implications which were useful to us. Statistics Canada has defined a census metropolitan area as a continuous, built-up urbanized core which has at least 100,000 persons and is the major labour market and commuting zone for a significant number of people who can travel daily to their places of work in the area. We found these aspects of the nature of a census metropolitan area particularly well-suited to the goal which we were trying to achieve, namely, to ensure the supply of bilingual federal services to substantial numbers of the minority who either resided in or frequented large urban centres that did not qualify as bilingual districts.

197. Since certain smaller urban centres were categorized by Statistics Canada as census agglomerations rather than as census metropolitan areas, we thought that we also should include within our recommendation for the provision of bilingual services under Sections 9(2) and 10 any census agglomerations which had in

²² *Supra*, paragraph 44, p. 8, and paragraphs 51-56, pp. 10-11.

²³ For a discussion of the Finnish system, see *supra*, paragraphs 143-151, pp. 23-24.

²⁴ See *infra*, Part V, Appendix 1, for a verbatim reproduction of Section 10; and also *supra*, paragraph 33, p. 7.

²⁵ As we shall explain subsequently (*infra*, Part II, Quebec, paragraph 728, p. 110), the census agglomeration of Sherbrooke included in 1971 the town of Lennoxville. It may also be noted that in 1971 there were additional localities which had at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the respective area. However, it was not necessary for us to include them in the list of urban centres for which bilingual services would be provided by our supplementary recommendation since each of them would be furnished with bilingual services because it was contained within one or another of the proposed bilingual districts or it was located in the National Capital Region.

1971 at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the respective locality. The only census agglomeration that met this criterion was Sherbrooke in the province of Quebec.

198. Thus, in summary, there were seven urban concentrations, comprised of six census metropolitan areas and one census agglomeration, which we believed should be provided with bilingual federal services under Sections 9(2) and 10. Although each of the six census metropolitan areas and the incorporated centre of Sherbrooke had a sizable number of the minority, none of them qualified as a bilingual district by having a minority amounting by mother tongue to at least ten per cent of the total local population. Yet each of them had more than 5,000 residents whose language most often spoken at home in 1971 was the minority official language in the respective province. Since we believed that this fact indicated that there likely would be "a significant demand" for federal bilingual services in the locality, the Board decided unanimously to recommend that such services should be provided in these areas under Sections 9 (2) and 10.

199. Listed in order of the magnitude of the number of persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the respective area, and with the 1971 figure for the size of the group given in parentheses after each locality, the seven urban areas were: the census metropolitan areas of Toronto (20,580), Winnipeg (17,655), Quebec (16,955), St. Catharines—Niagara (10,725), the census agglomeration of Sherbrooke (9,170), and the census metropolitan areas of Edmonton (7,865) and Vancouver (6,000).

200. For reasons which we shall discuss subsequently,²⁶ a majority of the Board decided, after lengthy discussion, that the census metropolitan area of Montreal should be included in the list of large urban centres for which bilingual services would be recommended by the use of Sections 9 (2) and 10. The census metropolitan area of Montreal therefore appears in the relevant supplementary recommendation.

201. Since we attached so much importance to the provision of bilingual federal services in large urban centres, we have placed our proposal for achieving this goal first in our list of supplementary recommendations to the Governor in Council.²⁷

(12) Proposal for Bilingual Services in Provincial Capitals

202. We have already noted that the question of providing bilingual federal services in provincial capitals is related to the issue of the provision of such services in large urban centres.²⁸ Most of the provincial capitals are large urban centres which in 1971 contained a number of the official language minority, yet like the other large urban centres none of the ten capitals could be recommended as a bilingual district since each lacked the minimal requirement of ten per cent of the minority according to mother tongue.

203. Four of the provincial capitals are included in the recommendation which we have just proposed to provide bilingual services in large urban centres by the use of Sections 9(2) and 10.²⁹ Thus, if this recommendation were adopted, federal bilingual services would be made available in Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Quebec city.

204. While this arrangement would ensure services to the official language minority in the four provincial capitals which had the largest concentrations of the minority and in each of which there were at least 5,000 persons who spoke the respective minority language most often at home, we believed that the remaining six provincial capitals should also be furnished with such services. Although the minority in each of these six capitals was less numerous, and in some instances quite small,³⁰ we still concluded that federal bilingual services should be provided in all ten capitals.

205. Our conclusion was based on five considerations. First, it seemed to us that provincial capitals deserve unique treatment because of their status and significance as capitals. Second, provincial capitals are invariably the site of numerous and important offices of the federal government, serving not only the local community but often the region and perhaps the entire province. Third, provincial capitals are foci and transit points for travellers and visitors from other parts of Canada as well as from other parts of the province. Thus, federal offices within them would be expected to provide bilingual services under the requirements prescribed in Section 10 of the Official Languages Act. Fourth,

²⁶ *Supra*, paragraphs 171-173, p. 27.

²⁷ *Supra*, paragraphs 198-199, p. 31.

²⁸ In 1971, according to the categories available from Statistics Canada, the figures for the number of persons whose language most often spoken at home was French were as follows: Halifax census metropolitan area, 2,655; Fredericton census agglomeration, 1,050; Regina census metropolitan area, 585; Victoria census metropolitan area, 560; St. John's census metropolitan area, 150; and Charlottetown census agglomeration, 90.

²⁹ *Infra*, paragraphs 226-230, p. 34.

³⁰ *Infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number I, p. 176.

provincial capitals are the sites and distribution points of important provincial services as well as certain municipal services. If the federal government were to provide bilingual services in its offices in provincial capitals, the provincial governments and some of the municipalities themselves might be encouraged to furnish a greater measure of bilingual services in their jurisdictions.

206. Finally, we believed that provincial capitals are important symbols that should exemplify the principle of the Official Languages Act by portraying the image of a bilingual country. If this is so, it is obvious that the federal government might be expected to take the lead in providing bilingual services in provincial capitals. In these key centres Canadians should be able to communicate in their own official language with at least the federal government.

207. The Board concluded, therefore, almost unanimously that we should propose in our supplementary recommendations that departments and agencies of the federal government should utilize Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act to provide, to the extent that it is possible, bilingual services in their offices in every provincial capital.

208. Again, as in the case of large urban centres, and for the same reasons, we have chosen the most extensive geographical areas which were available according to Statistics Canada's categories. Thus, although strictly speaking provincial capitals in 1971 were incorporated municipalities, such as, for example, the city of Toronto or the city of Quebec, the localities which we have identified are the census metropolitan areas of the provincial capitals, or where such areas did not exist according to Statistics Canada's categories, the census agglomerations of provincial capitals.³¹

209. Since we believed that the provision of bilingual services in provincial capitals is very nearly as important, if not as important, as the provision of such services in large urban centres, we will give this proposal second place in our list of supplementary recommendations.³²

210. We recognized that in recommending the provision of bilingual services for provincial capitals under

Sections 9(2) and 10, we were not interpreting the condition of "significant demand" which appears in these clauses in the same manner as we had interpreted it in recommending the provision of bilingual services in large urban centres. In the latter case we suggested that "significant demand" might be held to exist where there were 5,000 persons who spoke the respective official minority language most often at home.³³ In the case of provincial capitals we have made a recommendation that applies generally to all provincial capitals. But we believed that for the reasons we have already stated,³⁴ provincial capitals are in a special category and therefore warrant particular consideration.

211. We appreciated that since we had not defined "significant demand" in regard to provincial capitals, there was still some question as to its meaning. Although it was clear that the phrase would have to be interpreted with common sense in its application to each capital, we hoped that because of the importance of provincial capitals, it would be utilized generously.

(13) Variations in Criteria Depending on Need

212. In making supplementary recommendations that the federal government should provide its services, where possible, in both official languages in large urban centres and provincial capitals, and in choosing different criteria on which to base these and other recommendations, we believed that we were observing the spirit of the Official Languages Act. We also thought that our recommendations reflected the way in which we had sought to reconcile some of the divergent considerations emerging from the implementation of the Act.

213. The basic intent of the Official Languages Act is to give equal status to the French and the English languages although in practice this general principle is qualified by a number of conditions such as have been noted.³⁵ Thus, the provision of bilingual services by means of bilingual districts or other arrangements is dependent upon the fulfilment of certain requirements, for instance, the presence of a minimal proportion of the minority, the extent of the demand or need for bilingual services, and considerations of practicality and common sense.

214. The members of the Board had no difficulty in agreeing upon the fundamental premise of the Act and some of the implications that stemmed from it. We

³¹ Two of the provincial capitals identified in this broader manner under this supplementary recommendation will be included, in whole or in part, in one or another of the bilingual districts which we shall propose subsequently. They are the census metropolitan area of Winnipeg, of which part will be included within a proposed bilingual district, and the census agglomeration of Fredericton, which will be included in its entirety in a proposed bilingual district.

³² *Infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 2, paragraph 1159, p. 176.

³³ *Supra*, paragraphs 192-195, p. 30.

³⁴ *Supra*, paragraphs 205-206, pp. 31-32.

³⁵ *Supra*, paragraphs 31-37, pp. 7-8.

concurred that the intent of the legislation is to establish the equal status of the two languages. We also were in agreement that this principle obliged us to try to ensure that sufficiently large official language minority groups, whether they were French or English, should be provided with federal services in their own tongue and that these services should be approximately similar in scope.

215. We agreed, moreover, that there was justification for varying somewhat the criteria for bilingual districts because of the different positions and needs of some of the French-speaking and English-speaking minorities.

(14) Different Positions and Needs of Minorities

216. We recalled that English Canadians and French Canadians have not found themselves in a similar position and have not always received similar services from federal institutions in their own language.

217. The most obvious distinction between the two groups arises from the fact that French-speaking Canadians form a minority within the country as a whole while English-speaking Canadians comprise the majority. The discrepancy between the two groups is significant. In 1971 Canadians of French mother tongue amounted to 26.9 per cent of the total population, or less than half of the number of Canadians of English mother tongue who constituted 60.2 per cent of the population.³⁶

218. There were two additional important differences between the positions of the groups. First, the French-speaking minority was much more dispersed than the English-speaking minority groups. Citizens of French mother tongue were the official language minority in nine provinces while citizens of English mother tongue constituted the minority only in the province of Quebec and in a few localities in two other provinces, that is, in certain parts of north-eastern New Brunswick and in three areas in northern and eastern Ontario.³⁷

219. Second, our inquiry had confirmed that there had frequently been a discrepancy in the extent of federal services provided to each of the two groups in its own language. English-speaking minority groups had

rarely, if ever, experienced difficulty in obtaining federal services in English while French-speaking minorities often had encountered a lack of such facilities in French.³⁸

220. For these reasons we were prepared to be less exacting in recommending some bilingual districts which contained a French-speaking minority than in recommending some districts which included an English-speaking minority.³⁹ Consequently, the number of French mother tongue persons in some recommended bilingual districts is considerably less than the number of English mother tongue individuals in some other proposed districts.⁴⁰ We agreed that this variation in criteria was justified by the need to compensate for past deficiencies in French language services and to provide for any continuing differential needs.

(15) Opposing Views on Importance of Certain Factors

221. The members of the Board were not in agreement, however, when we discussed the problem of weighing the comparative importance of some of the other questions which emerged from the implementation of the Act. We disagreed, for example, on the extent to which the concepts of legal entitlement to a district and parity of treatment in recommending districts should take precedence over certain other factors such as the actual need for a bilingual district to ensure minority language services.

222. Some members believed, for instance, that if an area qualified under the Act as a bilingual district, it should be recommended as a district even though bilingual services might be furnished by other means which under the particular circumstances might be deemed to be more appropriate. These members were convinced that, apart from those cases in which it was advisable to recommend a bilingual district where the French-speaking minority was smaller in number than the English-speaking minority was in certain other recommended districts, all areas that had a statutory right to be recommended as bilingual districts should be treated in similar fashion, regardless of other considerations.

223. After lengthy and intensive discussions in the Board, a majority of the members concluded that while

³⁶ See *supra*, paragraph 2, p. 3, for the precise figures for the numbers and percentages of Canadians of English, French, and other mother tongue.

³⁷ The census divisions in New Brunswick and Ontario in which persons of English mother tongue comprised the official language minority were respectively: Gloucester, Kent, Madawaska, and Restigouche; Cochrane, Prescott, and Russell.

³⁸ *Supra*, paragraph 103, pp. 17-18.

³⁹ *Supra*, paragraph 104, p. 18.

⁴⁰ For the specific details of recommended bilingual districts, see *infra*, Part II, Recommendations of Bilingual Districts, pp. 41-166.

they supported in general the principles of legal right and parity, there were occasions in which, when bilingual districts were being considered, greater attention should be paid to factors other than legal entitlement and parity. These factors included the different position of the French and English minorities, which has already been considered, the question of the actual need for a bilingual district to ensure bilingual services, the possibility of there being an alternative means to provide such services, and the existence of particular local conditions.

(16) Alternative Arrangements in Certain Instances

224. The majority believed that in certain cases the prime consideration in proposing a bilingual district should be the need for such a district to ensure services to the minority in its own language. If, for example, a minority group had not received adequate federal services in its own language in the past, or if it was not as likely as a minority group of the other official language to receive such services in the future by some other means, a bilingual district should be recommended. On the other hand, if such services were already being provided and it seemed probable that they would be continued or could be continued under Section 9(2) of the Act, a bilingual district might not be necessary.

225. In taking this view, a majority of members were persuaded that it was more important to seek a greater measure of equality in the provision of bilingual services to both language minorities by some method than it was to recommend bilingual districts for each minority wherever districts were possible under the Act. The majority of members therefore decided that we should not recommend a bilingual district in certain instances where a district was rendered unnecessary because services could be ensured by an alternative means, and where that alternative means was preferable in light of particular local circumstances.

(17) Particular Circumstances in Quebec and Montreal

226. We found that the circumstances we have just described applied in Quebec and in particular in Montreal.

227. In Quebec our inquiry revealed that the English-speaking minority had rarely had difficulty in securing federal services in English. In a few instances

in more remote areas of the province, we received complaints that some individuals had encountered problems in communicating in English with federal public servants in reference to questions about income tax and manpower counselling, particularly at regional offices at "beyond-the-counter" levels. We received even fewer indications that there was any lack of federal services in English in the census metropolitan area of Montreal, where three-quarters of the province's English mother tongue minority resided and where very many federal offices were located. In fact, in Montreal we heard as many complaints about the lack of certain communications from Ottawa in French as we did about any deficiency in English services.

228. This evidence led us to wonder whether, in order to ensure the provision of federal services to the minority in English, it was necessary to recommend the creation of any bilingual districts in Quebec, especially in Montreal. It appeared to us that the minority had received such services satisfactorily in the past and that it was most unlikely that any federal government would diminish or eliminate such services in the future.

229. However, we noted that there was a disparity in the strength of the various English-speaking groups in Quebec and that this differential might call for an alteration in the method of providing services. In Montreal the English-speaking community was on the whole strong, numerous, well-situated, and influential. It seemed, therefore, to have little need for the added protection that would be afforded by a bilingual district. In contrast to the minority in Montreal, some English-speaking groups elsewhere in Quebec were relatively small, less affluent and less efficacious, and more dispersed, isolated, and vulnerable. In these respects the English-speaking groups in more outlying areas of Quebec were in a position that was comparable to that of most French-speaking minorities elsewhere in Canada. Since the distinction in needs between these various minority groups was so obvious, we thought that different arrangements to provide services might be appropriate both inside and outside of Quebec.

230. A majority of the Board concluded, therefore, that while it was advisable to recommend bilingual districts for some English-speaking minorities in Quebec and for some French-speaking minorities elsewhere, it would be superfluous to make such a recommendation for Montreal since the minority there might be provided for in the same fashion as the minorities in other large urban centres in Canada. Thus, the census metropolitan area of Montreal is included in the list of large urban centres for which the Board has recommended

that federal bilingual services be provided by the use of Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act.⁴¹

231. Several additional considerations reinforced the conclusions of the majority of the Board on this subject. Our consultations with members of the minority in Quebec revealed that a number of persons of English mother tongue either were not interested in the concept of bilingual districts or did not favour their creation. Some believed that the establishment of bilingual districts was unnecessary since federal services in English were already available and quite satisfactory. Others thought that the creation of such districts might provoke disharmony where none had existed.

232. The provincial government had expressed its opposition in principle to the establishment of bilingual districts even for federal services. While the Board was conducting its inquiry and preparing its report, the government of Quebec also introduced Bill 22 into the National Assembly. After much examination and debate by the legislature and the public, the bill was enacted under the title of the Official Language Act.⁴² The statute declares that "French is the official language of the province of Quebec."⁴³

233. Despite the fact that the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board is a federal body concerned with matters of federal jurisdiction, we believed that inasmuch as we had taken cognizance, when considering bilingual districts, of provincial language legislation in the case of the one additional province which had enacted such a statute, namely, New Brunswick, we should note the nature of the Quebec legislation. New Brunswick's statute established two official languages while Quebec's statute established one.

234. We were also aware that a sizable segment of public opinion in Quebec was not only in favour of the recent legislation but was strongly opposed, as was the provincial government, to the creation of bilingual districts. Again, although the Board did not think that either of these considerations should be the preponderant factor in influencing our recommendations, we believed that we would better serve all elements, including the minority, by recognizing a prominent public attitude.

235. It was clear to us that the opposition to bilingual districts on the part of both the provincial government and some portion of the public in Quebec arose to a large extent from a concern for the survival of the French language in Quebec. We realized that there was apprehension that the establishment of bilingual districts in the province would increase the threat to the survival of the French language in Quebec by maintaining and increasing the currency of English, not as the language of the minority, which is accepted, but as the *lingua franca* of the province.

236. Although the Board was divided in its opinions about the wisdom of recommending bilingual districts in Quebec, notably in Montreal, nearly all of the members recognized that the existence of the French language is in jeopardy in Quebec and were loath to augment the pressures upon it. We recognized that those pressures might be all the greater if the establishment of a bilingual district in Montreal promoted the diminution of French in this vital urban artery.

237. We also believed that it would be completely contrary to the basic intent of the Official Languages Act, which is designed to establish the equal status of French and English, if we were to make recommendations that were disadvantageous to the survival of French in the province which is its essential base. We fully recognized the validity of the argument that in terms of long-run survival it is the French language which needs protection in Quebec rather than English. While Quebec is the centre of French-speaking Canada and French-speaking North America, its five million persons of French mother tongue are faced with great difficulty in maintaining their language in the midst of 16 million English-speaking Canadians and 220 million English-speaking Americans who exert enormous linguistic pressure through inescapable economic, social, and cultural influences and the impact of modern communications.

238. Confronted by these facts as well as by the obligation to fulfil its mandate, the Board grappled with the conflicting implications that emerged from applying the Official Languages Act throughout a country as diverse as Canada. The factors of statutory right and parity in treatment in recommending bilingual districts had to be weighed in the balance with the need for bilingual districts to ensure bilingual services, the possibility of alternative arrangements, the differential needs of language minorities, and the presence of particular local circumstances.

239. At the one extreme we could have recommended a bilingual district comprised of the entire province of

⁴¹ *Supra*, paragraphs 187-200, pp. 29-31, and *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendations, paragraphs 1156-1158, p. 176.

⁴² National Assembly of Quebec, *Official Language Act*, assented to July 31, 1974, Québec Official Publisher, Charles-Henri Dubé, 1974.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Title 1, Section 1.

Quebec, as the First Board had proposed, but the hostile reaction in a number of quarters to the First Board's recommendation reinforced our conviction that such a suggestion was implausible. At the other extreme we might not have recommended any bilingual districts in Quebec, but such a proposal would have neglected the protection that bilingual districts might afford to some of the more vulnerable minority groups in the province. The decision of the majority of members was to attach the greatest importance to providing by some means federal services in their own language to all the official language minority groups of reasonable size. In some cases these services would be provided by the recommendation of bilingual districts; in some other cases, essentially in large urban centres including Montreal and provincial capitals, by the recommendation of an alternative method.

240. We were aware that our response to the situation in Quebec might not be endorsed everywhere. During our inquiry we met some members of the province's official language minority who have begun recently to be uneasy about the position of the English language in Quebec. However, their apprehensions were related to matters in the jurisdiction of the pro-

vince rather than to the provision of federal government services in English.

241. We concluded that the issue of language in Quebec is complicated by the fact that, although there are statistically an official language majority and minority in the province, the psychological reality is that there are two minorities and no majority. Many persons of French mother tongue feel that functionally they belong to a minority while a number of English-speaking individuals are beginning to become aware of their position as a minority. We did not encounter this predicament in any other province.

242. For all of these reasons a majority of our members, after lengthy discussion and debate in the Board, have arrived at the conclusions which are presented subsequently as recommendations for the provision of federal services to the official language minority in Quebec.⁴⁴ In making these recommendations the majority of the Board believes that it has been consistent in applying throughout Canada the criterion which the Board took as its prime concern, namely, the desirability of providing by some means federal services in their own language to all the official language minority groups of reasonable magnitude.

⁴⁴ *Infra*, Part II, Recommendations of Bilingual Districts, Quebec, pp. 69-112.

Chapter 6 — Conclusion

Review of Essential Considerations

243. As we concluded our description of the Board's inquiry and prepared our recommendations, we reviewed the essentials of our findings and the substance of our rationale.

244. It seemed to us to be very clear that the basic intent of the Official Languages Act is to endow the two official languages in Canada, French and English, with equality of status and equal rights and privileges in their use in all the institutions under the jurisdiction of the federal government.

245. We noted that the Act provides various means by which this principle is to be implemented. Among them are the establishment of bilingual districts, the requirement to publish federal documents and instruments in both official languages, and the obligation to provide bilingual federal services to the travelling public and on occasion to persons residing in areas not located within bilingual districts.

246. All of these devices are subject to certain conditions. A region may be recommended as a bilingual district, for example, only if it contains at least ten per cent of the minority by mother tongue. The publication of documents in both languages is conditioned by the exigencies of the situation while bilingual services for travellers and residents in areas outside bilingual districts are subject to the tests of significant demand as well as regularity in the first instance and feasibility in the second. The canons of common sense and administrative practicability are implicit in all arrangements.

247. We recognized that the lack of precision in most of the conditional terms has the advantage of providing flexibility in the application of the Act. But it also has the disadvantage of making some arrangements for the provision of bilingual services so dependent on elastic, arbitrary, and perhaps parsimonious definitions of the need for services that it would be unwise to rely on

these clauses of the statute. It was chiefly for this reason that the Board rejected various proposals, such as the suggestion by the Commissioner of Official Languages that one could rely exclusively or even extensively on Section 9(2) of the Act to furnish bilingual services. We believed, therefore, that there still was a need for bilingual districts.

248. At the same time, we perceived that both Section 9(2), which provides for bilingual services in certain circumstances to residents outside bilingual districts, and Section 10, which provides for such services to the travelling public, might be used fruitfully to supplement the furnishing of minority language services in bilingual districts. In particular, we thought that these two clauses might be employed to supply bilingual services to those numerous groups of the minority residing in large urban centres and provincial capitals where the lack of bilingual services had troubled the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, the Second Board, and a number of officials. Thus, we decided to recommend not only a number of bilingual districts but to propose also that bilingual services be provided under Sections 9(2) and 10 in large urban centres and provincial capitals.

249. Our decision to make the latter supplementary recommendations stemmed from our desire to ensure that bilingual services be provided by some means to as many members of the minority as possible, whether the local minority was English-speaking or French-speaking. We chose this same objective as our first consideration when we weighed the various implications emerging from the application of the Act. Although some members of the Board believed that statutory entitlement to a bilingual district and parity of treatment in recommending bilingual districts should be the prime considerations, a majority of the Board disagreed. They concluded that it was more important to recognize that there were discrepancies in the provision of federal language services to French and

English minorities, that the two minorities were frequently not in the same position for various reasons, including local circumstances, and that our first obligation was to redress the imbalance by attempting to ensure that approximately similar language services be furnished to each minority group.

250. Accordingly, on occasion we varied our criteria for bilingual districts and for the provision of services by other means. We believed that this variation was realistic and justified in that it permitted us to make recommendations that were better suited to the diverse situations which existed throughout Canada.

Guiding Principles

251. In making these decisions, a majority of the Board was convinced that we were conforming to the intention of the Official Languages Act to ensure that, to the extent that it is possible and reasonable in practice, the two official languages have equal status.

252. We believed also that our decisions were consonant with the opinions expressed by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism when it proposed the creation of bilingual districts. The Commission implied that it accepted the possibility of adopting different criteria in regard to bilingual districts when it remarked, "Numbers alone cannot determine the significance of a minority, and even a small minority may be important in its region. Rather, the essential decision is to recognize the official-language minorities wherever their relative importance justifies it."⁴⁵

253. The Commission also summed up our view when it stated:

... we take as a guiding principle the recognition of both official languages, in law and in practice, wherever the minority is numerous enough to be viable as a group. This

is a positive conception of equality, under which language rights of official-language minorities are respected and come into force whenever circumstances permit; that is, when a language group is large enough to exercise them. Evaluation of the "circumstance" will be the only problem; each case will need its own assessment. It should not be a matter of applying the principle blindly without taking account of any difficulties in particular instances. In short, we have adopted an approach aimed at attaining the greatest equality with the least impracticality."⁴⁶

254. We would like to affirm as our own opinion one additional sentence from the Royal Commission's Report: "Our goal is to be just toward members of an official language minority, without imposing too heavy obligations on the majority".⁴⁷

From Conception to Realization

255. In arriving at the recommendations which follow, we believed that we had moved from the conception of language rights articulated by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the Official Languages Act to some measure of their realization in the provision of bilingual federal services by means of bilingual districts and other arrangements.

256. We recognized that the implementation of conceptions is not accomplished without differences of opinion about methods. We have attempted in this part of our Report to explain the nature of the problems we encountered, the facts and opinions which we discovered in our inquiry, and the ways in which we attempted to reconcile the divergent considerations which emerged.

257. The remainder of our Report is devoted to our recommendations of specific bilingual districts and the reasoning involved in each case, the presentation of some supplementary recommendations, the minority statements of some members, and a set of appendices which provide certain information and data.

⁴⁵ Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I, *The Official Languages*, op. cit., p. 116.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86, Italics in the original.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

PART II

RECOMMENDATIONS OF BILINGUAL DISTRICTS

Summary List of Recommended Bilingual Districts

258. The Board recommends the establishment of the following bilingual districts for federal purposes, according to the provisions of the Official Languages Act, R.S.C., 1970, c. O-2.

259. Listed alphabetically by province from east to west in Canada, the recommended bilingual districts are:

Province of Newfoundland

1. Port au Port
2. West Labrador

Province of Prince Edward Island

1. Egmont

Province of Nova Scotia

1. Antigonish—Inverness—Richmond
2. Digby—Yarmouth

Province of New Brunswick

1. The entire province

Province of Quebec

1. Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes
2. North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence
3. Gaspé—Bonaventure
4. Gatineau—Pontiac
5. Huntingdon—Compton

Province of Ontario

1. Cornwall—Hawkesbury
2. Laurentian
3. Midland—Penetang
4. Welland
5. Windsor—Tilbury

Province of Manitoba

1. Ellice—St. Lazare
2. Lawrence—Ste. Rose
3. Mountain School Division
4. Powerview—St. George
5. St. Boniface—Rouge—Seine
6. White Horse Plain School Division

Province of Saskatchewan

1. Battleford
2. Gravelbourg—Willow Bunch
3. Prince Albert
4. Prud'homme—Vonda
5. Redvers
6. Zenon Park—Arborefield

Province of Alberta

1. Falher—Peace River
2. St. Paul—Bonnyville

Province of British Columbia

Nil

Yukon and Northwest Territories

Nil

Summary of Population Data of Recommended Bilingual Districts

	Total	French Mother Tongue	Minority by Percentage
Newfoundland			
1—Port au Port.....	5,155	795	15.4
2—West Labrador.....	13,620	1,455	10.7
Prince Edward Island			
1—Egmont.....	32,875	5,785	17.6
Nova Scotia			
1—Antigonish—Inverness— Richmond.....	49,925	10,250	20.5
2—Digby—Yarmouth.....	45,035	15,515	34.5
New Brunswick			
1—Province.....	634,555	215,730	34.0
Quebec			
		English Mother Tongue	
1—Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes	46,900	9,625	20.5
2—North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.....	5,110	3,870	75.7
3—Gaspé—Bonaventure.....	83,430	12,285	14.7
4—Gatineau—Pontiac.....	26,295	13,210	50.2
5—Huntingdon—Compton.....	105,515	39,030	37.0
Ontario			
		French Mother Tongue	
1—Cornwall—Hawkesbury.....	122,730	64,660	52.7
2—Laurentian.....	717,350	171,660	23.9
3—Midland—Penetang.....	29,035	5,405	18.6
4—Welland.....	65,815	9,355	14.2
5—Windsor—Tilbury.....	268,740	27,635	10.3
Manitoba			
1—Ellice—St. Lazare.....	1,070	620	57.9
2—Lawrence—Ste. Rose.....	3,135	1,230	39.2
3—Mountain School Division....	7,285	3,895	53.5
4—Powerview—St. George.....	2,450	900	36.7
5—St. Boniface—Rouge—Seine..	100,160	29,475	29.4
6—White Horse Plain School Division.....	5,785	2,380	41.1
Saskatchewan			
1—Battleford.....	4,895	820	16.8
2—Gravelbourg—Willow Bunch	17,505	4,330	24.7
3—Prince Albert.....	48,910	6,825	14.0
4—Prud'homme—Vonda.....	2,230	580	26.0
5—Redvers.....	4,075	1,320	32.4
6—Zenon Park—Arborefield.....	3,170	695	21.9
Alberta			
1—Falher—Peace River.....	23,225	5,665	24.4
2—St. Paul—Bonnyville.....	34,405	6,920	20.1

Eligible Areas Not Recommended as Bilingual Districts

260. Where in a province there were census divisions or subdivisions which contained at least ten per cent of the official language minority by mother tongue according to the 1971 census but which are not recommended herewith as bilingual districts, the Board notes such divisions or subdivisions in the section dealing with the respective province and states its reasons for not recommending them as bilingual districts.

Information Provided for Each Bilingual District

261. The following information is given for each of the bilingual districts recommended:

- (a) Description of the territory included in the bilingual district;
- (b) Statistics provided by Statistics Canada from the census of 1971 showing the total population and the number and percentage of the official language minority by mother tongue for the entire bilingual district and each of its components;
- (c) Federal and provincial electoral districts concerned (as of 1971);
- (d) Map locating and delimiting the recommended bilingual district;
- (e) Factors considered by the Board in arriving at its recommendation.

Comparison with Recommendations of First Board

262. In each of the descriptions of individual bilingual districts which follow, the Board indicates under item (e) the similarities or differences that occur with respect to its recommendation and the recommendation in regard to the comparable area made by the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board which submitted its report to the Governor in Council in March 1971.

263. While in some instances the recommendations of the two Boards are identical, there are some major changes in regard to Quebec and British Columbia and there are a number of cases in which the recommendations of the present Board differ from those of its predecessor in respect to such matters as the name of a district, its boundaries, or its extent.

Explanation of Choice of Names of Bilingual Districts

264. When the Board selected names for the bilingual districts which it is recommending, we were guided by the following considerations. We believed that the title should be brief, descriptive, and familiar, particularly to local residents. We therefore tended to select well-known proper nouns which were related to the specific bilingual district, for example, the names of relevant counties, cities, or other familiar geographical areas. The use of proper nouns also avoided in most cases the need for translation. Where a recommended bilingual district was large in area, we usually chose the names of two localities which were in a polar position in the district, in order to indicate the extent of the bilingual district.

Note About "Random Rounding" of Data

265. The Board notes the following comment which Statistics Canada has attached to the data that the Board has used throughout its report:

All figures . . . have been subjected to a confidentiality procedure to prevent the possibility of associating small figures with any identifiable individual. The particular technique used is known as "random rounding". Under this method, all last or "unit" digits in a table (including all totals) are randomly rounded (either up or down) to "0" or "5". This technique provides the strongest possible protection against direct, residual, or negative disclosures without adding any significant error to the census data. However, since totals are independently rounded they do not necessarily equal the sum of individual rounded figures in distributions. Also, minor differences can be expected for corresponding totals and cell values in various census tabulations.

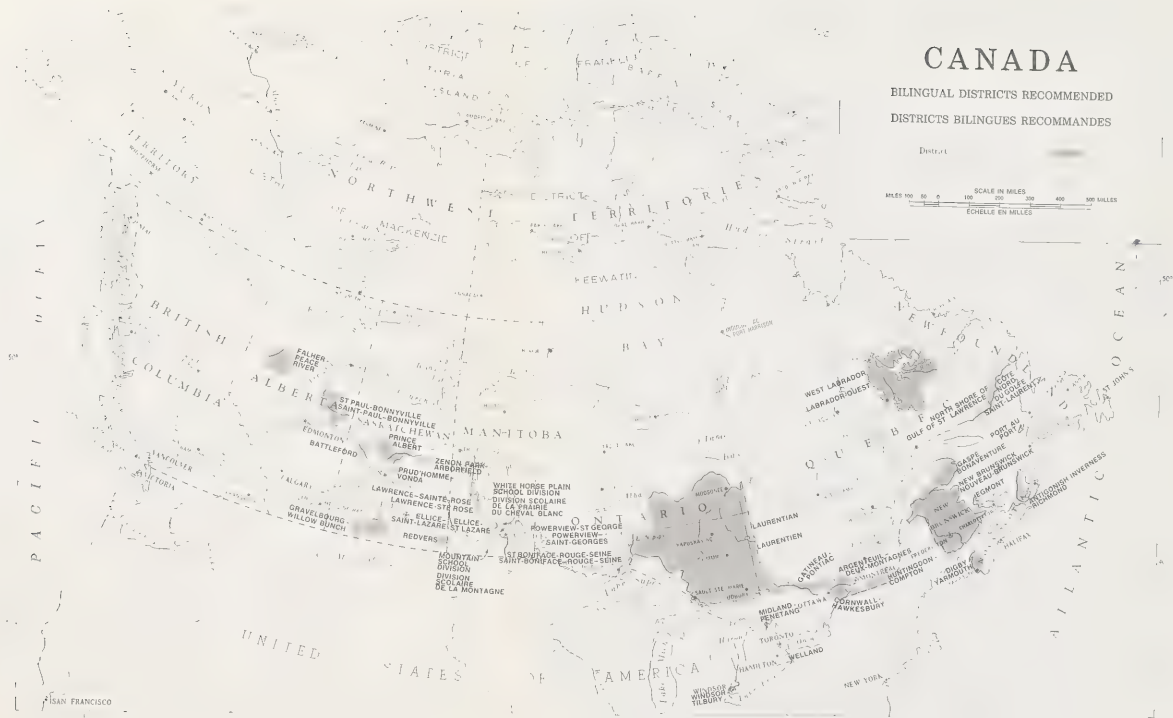
CANADA

BILINGUAL DISTRICTS RECOMMENDED

DISTRICTS BILINGUES RECOMMANDES

District

SCALE IN MILES
ECHÉLLE EN MILES



The Atlantic Provinces

Introduction

266. French settlement on the Atlantic coast preceded settlement by the French in Quebec and by the English in other parts of North America. Early in 1604, four years before Champlain founded Quebec and 16 years before the Mayflower landed at Plymouth Rock, a group of French settlers established themselves on the west coast of the Bay of Fundy. The following spring they sailed across to what is now called the Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia to found Canada's oldest permanent settlement. During the same century additional French colonies were established in what are now Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland.

267. From these origins sprang the community which the French called Acadia. Although it was much neglected by the French imperial authorities and continually embroiled in wars between France and Britain, the colony grew by the force of its own determination to a population exceeding 10,000 by the middle of the eighteenth century. During the earlier part of the period Acadia was captured four times by the English and returned four times to France after negotiations. However, in 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht Britain acquired permanent possession of Newfoundland and mainland Nova Scotia, where the bulk of the Acadian population resided.

268. The position of the Acadians in Nova Scotia was precarious. They lived under British rule in a time and region beset by recurring conflicts between Britain and their French ex-compatriots. In 1755, when another full-scale war broke out between Britain and France, the Acadian position became untenable. Alarmed by the possibility of having a French fifth column in their Nova Scotian colony, the British authorities rounded up the Acadian population, forced them on board ships, and sent them off to different parts of the British Empire. Most of the Acadians were expelled in this way by 1763, the date of the Treaty of Paris which

ceded the entire Atlantic region to Britain. According to the census, in 1767 there were only 921 Acadians left in Nova Scotia and 147 in New Brunswick.

269. Yet the Acadians had so much resilience and pertinacity that they not only reconstituted their community but developed it at a remarkable pace. By the end of the eighteenth century small groups were making their way back to the Maritime provinces, by sea or by land, from the places of their exile. Avoiding the areas where they had lived before and where they would be most noticeable to the British authorities whom they naturally feared, they settled in isolated groups along the northern coast of New Brunswick, in Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, and the southwest coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. They added their numbers to those other Acadians who had escaped the expulsion by hiding in the woods.

270. The reconstitution of Acadia was a slow and difficult process. Because they had returned in small separate groups, and because they were not anxious for the authorities to know of their return, the Acadians were, at first, largely unknown to one another. Moreover, during their period of isolation, Scottish and Irish settlers established the Roman Catholic Church as an English-speaking institution in the Maritimes. Thus when the church came to the Acadians, it spoke in English. By the middle of the nineteenth century there were four Roman Catholic dioceses in the Maritimes, but none had a French bishop. Nova Scotia had no French priest, and the few who served in New Brunswick had been despatched by the bishop of Quebec.

271. In an age when education was generally still considered a religious responsibility, the lack of French parishes retarded the educational development of the Acadians. Although a few priests did open schools, which eventually were aided by government subsidies after the 1840's in Nova Scotia and the 1850's in New Brunswick, much of the instruction was still pro-

vided at the time of Confederation by wandering pedagogues who taught a few lessons in a barn in one village or a few lessons in a house at another. A study of the Acadians in 1859 observed that many had learned to read and write but that their learning went no further than that.

272. It is not surprising, therefore, that no Acadian newspaper appeared before 1867, or that although one Acadian sat in the New Brunswick legislature after 1846, none represented the Acadians in the Maritime governments of 1864-1867 which participated in the conferences at Charlottetown, Quebec, and London that led to Confederation. The only French-speaking Catholics represented in the constitution-making process were those in Quebec. Yet these were scarcely even aware of the existence of the Acadians. As late as the 1880's Quebec newspapers were reporting with great amazement that travellers to the Maritimes had reported the existence of French-speaking communities there. Thus, although the French-Canadian fathers of Confederation were careful to ensure constitutional guarantees for their group in Quebec, they did little that would help the Acadians.

273. Yet the Acadian people continued to grow very rapidly. In little more than a century, from the first census after the expulsion to the first census after Confederation, their numbers in New Brunswick alone increased from 147 in 1767 to 44,907 in 1871. When Confederation occurred, they amounted to 16 per cent of the province's population, but by the beginning of the twentieth century, they had reached 24 per cent and by 1961 39 per cent. Most of the 215,725 New Brunswickers whose mother tongue was French in 1971 were descendants of those few families who had made their way back from exile with great difficulty two centuries previously. While they amounted to about a third of the total provincial population in 1971, their concentration in northern New Brunswick gave them preponderance in many localities there. The 1971 census showed that a number of communities in north-

ern counties had populations which were from 90 to 100 per cent French-speaking by mother tongue.

274. The remarkable strength of the French language in New Brunswick was achieved largely without any official support. The British North America Act gave no official status to the French language in the Maritimes as it did in Quebec. Moreover, within four years after Confederation the New Brunswick government had passed an act depriving Roman Catholic schools of their subsidies and insisting on teaching in English only. Although the legislation was not revoked, persistent protests from Roman Catholics did succeed in tempering it. A compromise by the provincial government in 1875 had the effect of allowing the Acadians to keep their own French-speaking schools which were permitted to hire teachers from Quebec and use their own Roman Catholic, French language texts.

275. In Nova Scotia, the Education Act of 1864 and its amendments in 1865 and 1866 tried to standardize the school system and the curriculum, which was to be taught entirely in English. French-language schools were left outside of the legal structure of the public school system. However, the Acadians developed social and cultural organizations with the aid of their church. Le Collège Sainte-Anne was founded near the end of the nineteenth century. In 1902 the Lieutenant-Governor appointed an Acadian Commission which resulted in French-language schools being made legal.

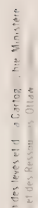
276. Additional reforms were achieved later. In 1905, for example, both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia introduced the use of completely French, instead of bilingual, textbooks in Acadian schools. In 1963 a French language university was founded at Moncton. In the same decade an Acadian became the premier of New Brunswick and attempts were made by the Maritime governments to provide for the use of French as well as English. In 1968 the government of New Brunswick passed an Official Languages Act which established French and English as the two official languages in the province.

LEGEND

District Recommended

LÉGENDE

District Recommande



Newfoundland

277. The only regions in Newfoundland in 1971 that fulfilled the requirements of a bilingual district by having an official language minority which by mother tongue amounted to at least ten per cent of the total population were located in the areas of Port au Port and West Labrador.

Bilingual Districts Recommended in the Province of Newfoundland

1. Port au Port

a. description

the bilingual district of Port au Port consists of the census subdivision E—Port au Port Peninsula, and the Local Government Communities (L.G.C.) of Cape St. George—Petit Jardin—Grand Jardin—De Grau—Marches Point—Loretto—Sheaves Cove, and Lourdes, in census division No. 4.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 4 (pt)			
Cape St. George— Petit Jardin—Grand Jardin—De Grau— Marches Point— Loretto—Sheaves Cove, L.G.C.....	1,595	470	29.5
Lourdes, L.G.C.....	960	15	1.6
Unorganized by subdivision			
E—Port au Port Peninsula.....	2,600	310	11.9
total.....	5,155	795	15.4

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Port au Port is located in part of the federal electoral district of Humber St. George's—St. Barbe, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Port au Port.

Details

278. The bilingual district recommended by the Board embraces part of census division Number 4, which includes census subdivision E—Port au Port Peninsula, and the following Local Government Communities: Cape St. George—Petit Jardin—Grand Jardin—De Grau—Marches Point—Loretto—Sheaves Cove, and Lourdes. Situated on the west coast of Newfoundland about ten miles from Stephenville, the nearest large service centre, the Port au Port Peninsula contained in 1971 the localities in this part of Newfoundland that had a French mother tongue population of ten or more than ten per cent. The region was compact and small both in area and in the total number of persons belonging to the minority by mother tongue. Apparently the federal government offices within the region were limited to postal facilities. For these reasons some members of the Board were hesitant to recommend the creation of a bilingual district.

Visit and Consultations

279. Nevertheless, several other factors led the Board to a positive conclusion. The First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board had recommended the establishment of a bilingual district in the area, in part because it believed that such a provision would recognize the existence of the local minority and encourage it to develop. When a team of our Board members visited the area, we found some evidence of development. Thus, although the official language minority in the proposed bilingual district in 1971 totalled only 795 persons, this number represented an increase in the size of the minority since ten years previously the nearest comparable figure had been 749 individuals residing in an area that was somewhat more extensive. The proportion of the minority in subdivision E also exceeded the minimal requirement of ten per cent since it amounted to 15.4 per cent of the aggregate population.

280. During its visit to the area the Board found additional evidence that influenced its thinking. From consultations with local residents we discovered that the minority had recently made considerable effort to keep its culture alive and to revitalize it. Some local individuals had organized French clubs whose activities included the provision of instruction in the French language. They also had established premises which the clubs could use for their meetings. The federal department of the Secretary of State had provided the services of a social animator.

281. Thus, the Board believed that there was considerable justification for the recommendation of a bilingual district. The leaders of the minority in the community were enthusiastically in favour of the creation of a district and the government of Newfoundland shared this enthusiasm. Local elected representatives also approved.

Recommendation

282. A strong majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district in the Port au Port area as described above.

2. West Labrador

a. description

the bilingual district of West Labrador consists of the census subdivision D—West Labrador, and the Local Improvement Districts (L.I.D.) of Labrador City and Wabush, in census division No. 10.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 10 (pt)			
Labrador (pt)			
Labrador City			
L.I.D.	7,620	860	11.3
Wabush L.I.D.	3,385	170	5.0
Unorganized by subdivision			
D—West Labrador..	2,615	425	16.3
total	13,620	1,455	10.7

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of West Labrador is located in part of the federal electoral district of Grand Falls—White Bay—Labrador, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Labrador North and Labrador West.

Details

283. The First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board recommended that after the 1971 census returns were made available a succeeding Board should determine whether or not any locality in Labrador met the requirement for the establishment of a bilingual district. The Second Board has examined the statistics and found that two areas did qualify, namely, Labrador City Local Improvement District, and census subdivision D—West Labrador in census division Number 10. Each of these two areas had an official language minority amounting to more than ten per cent of the total population.

284. In 1971 Labrador City Local Improvement District was located within the larger region of West Labrador, which in turn was situated in the most western portion of Labrador, bordered on three sides by the province of Quebec.

285. A team of members of the Board visited Labrador City, Wabush, and Churchill Falls to consult with residents, to assess local conditions and the scope of federal services; and to determine whether a bilingual district or districts should be recommended, and if so, in which locations.

Labrador City and Wabush

286. We found that Labrador City was the nerve centre of a recent great upsurge in economic development and activity in West Labrador. Labrador City and the neighbouring community in Wabush were in the midst of a boom resulting from rapid growth in the local iron ore industry and in new mines nearby. An airport close to both communities was a hive of activity, serving as the entry and transit point for workers, personnel, and goods arriving in the two centres or passing through to the new mineral sites of Mont Wright and Fermont located a few miles away in the province of Quebec. The airport also lay on the passenger route to and from Churchill Falls and several other settlements in Labrador and on the island of Newfoundland. While most of the labour force and the residents in the area had come from Newfoundland, there were also a number of workers from Quebec and some from northern New Brunswick. Thus, although English was the language used most often, a good deal of French was spoken.

287. When we paid our visit, Labrador City had bilingual schools, bilingual federal government services, and an obvious bilingual ambience. In 1971 the Local Improvement District had a population of 7,620 persons of whom 860, or 11.3 per cent, were of French mother tongue. Its neighbour, Wabush L.I.D., had a

PORT AU PORT

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

District Recommended	.....
Federal Electoral District	— 4 —
Census Division	— E —
Census Subdivision	— —

PORT AU PORT

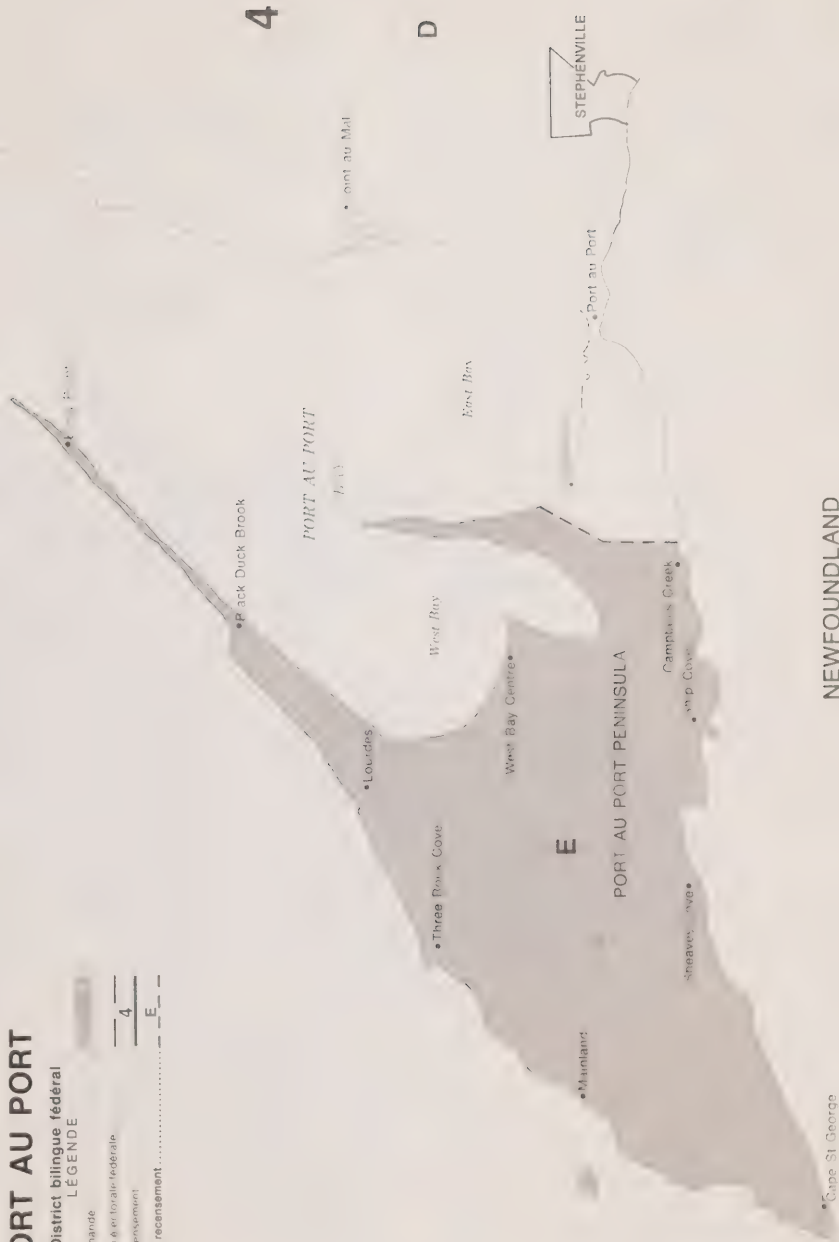
District bilingue fédéral

LEGENDE

District recommandé	.....
Circonscription électorale fédérale	— 4 —
Division de recensement	— E —
Subdivision de recensement	— —

NOTE: The bilingual district of Port au Port lies within the Federal Electoral District of HUMBER-ST. GEORGES-ST. BARBE

NOTE: Le district bilingue de Port au Port fait partie de la circonscription électorale fédérale de HUMBER-ST. GEORGES-ST. BARBE



NEWFOUNDLAND TERRE-NEUVE

SCALE IN MILES

5

Carte de la Terre-Neuve

WEST LABRADOR

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

District Recommended	.....
Federal Electoral District	.....
Census Division	..... 10
Census Subdivision	..... D

NOTE The bilingual district of Labrador West lies within the Federal Electoral District of GRAND FALLS-WHITE BAY-LABRADOR

LABRADOR-OUEST

District bilingue fédéral

LEGENDE

District recommandé	.....
Circonscription électorale fédérale	.....
Division de recensement	..... 10
Subdivision de recensement	..... D

NOTE Le district bilingue de Labrador-Ouest fait partie de la circonscription électorale fédérale de GRAND FALLS-WHITE BAY-LABRADOR



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Établie par la Direction des levés et de la cartographie, ministère de l'Énergie, des Mines et des Ressources, Ottawa, Canada

NEWFOUNDLAND TERRE-NEUVE



considerably smaller total population and a smaller number and percentage of individuals of French mother tongue. Of its 3,385 residents 170, or five per cent, belonged to the official language minority.

288. The Board had little difficulty in favouring Labrador City L.I.D. as a bilingual district since it had a minority population in excess of the minimal requirement of ten per cent and since it served as a transit point and entrepôt for many French-speaking persons. At the time of our visit, for instance, the work force employed in the nearby Quebec settlements at Mont Wright and Fermont was predominantly French-speaking and some workers and their families lived in Labrador City. We believed therefore that the creation of a bilingual district would be in keeping with the contemporary bilingual atmosphere of this L.I.D. and also would reinforce the supply of federal services in French, a provision which seemed to be necessary since a number of residents and transients were unilingual French-speaking.

289. Wabush Local Improvement District gave less evidence of being bilingual and by itself did not have a sufficient percentage of the minority to qualify as a bilingual district. However, Wabush and Labrador City had considerable interaction since they were almost adjacent communities, being linked by a few miles of a busy thoroughfare. They also had a common airport and a number of mutual interests that were accentuated by the proximity of the two settlements in an isolated region.

290. Thus, it did not seem reasonable to the Board to consider recommending one segment of this area as a bilingual district while omitting the other. Nevertheless, if the two Local Improvement Districts were grouped together, the official language minority in the combined area would amount to only 9.4 per cent, which would be less than the minimum required for a bilingual district.

Other Possibilities

291. However, there were two other possibilities. One was to consider the inclusion of the community of Churchill Falls within a bilingual district, or alternatively to recommend a district for the entire area which was known as West Labrador and which was comprised of census subdivision D in census division 10. West Labrador contained all three settlements of Labrador City, Wabush, and Churchill Falls, and a good deal of unorganized territory as well.

Churchill Falls

292. In 1971 Churchill Falls had a population of 2,355 persons, of whom 320 or 13.6 per cent were of French mother tongue. Although the latter figure exceeded the minimum of ten per cent required for a bilingual district, the aggregate of the minority seemed to be too small to justify the recommendation of a separate district.

293. Churchill Falls, moreover, had few, if any, federal services in 1971. The site of the largest subterranean hydro-electric generating plant in the world, it was a company town. The company had taken pains to provide French as well as English facilities for its employees and their families, such as schools, libraries, films, and radio reception. But we were told that when the current phase of construction of the plant was completed, it was likely that the number of employees of French mother tongue would decline at a more rapid rate than the number of persons of English mother tongue.

Combination of Churchill Falls, Labrador City, and Wabush

294. If Churchill Falls were combined with Labrador City and Wabush, the number of persons belonging to the French mother tongue group would have been slightly in excess of ten per cent in 1971. However, any district created to include these three localities and the unorganized territory connecting them would be rather artificial in nature, peculiar in shape, and difficult to demarcate by conventional boundaries. The alternative was to consider census subdivision D—West Labrador.

West Labrador

295. The choice of the entire area offered several distinct advantages. First, it was more extensive and it had a larger proportion of the minority, totalling 10.7 per cent. The larger area would increase the number of persons who might profit from being within a bilingual district and it would include all of the residents of a region which was isolated and sparsely populated, yet uniform in nature and easily identifiable.

296. Second, because of the current rapid economic development in the area, there was a possibility that existing settlements would continue to grow or that additional communities would appear in the region. If their populations followed the pattern established in

Labrador City and Churchill Falls in particular, and to a lesser extent in Wabush, there would be a considerable number of French-speaking residents as well as English-speaking even if the growth of the proportion of the former group did not keep pace with the latter. In any case, federal bilingual services might be required before the next scheduled reconsideration of boundaries of districts takes place after the census of 1981.

297. Third, the predominant economic force in the western portion of the subdivision, the Iron Ore Company of Canada, has adhered to bilingual policies in its employment of manpower and selection of executives, and in its administration and operations. The company has strong links with Quebec. Its head office is in Montreal and in the region where Quebec and West Labrador meet it has mines and industrial facilities on both sides of the border, the most important of which are located in Labrador City, Schefferville, and Sept-Îles. The Iron Ore Company of Canada also owns and operates the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway which connects Schefferville and Sept-Îles by traversing West Labrador.

298. Local spokesmen of the company were not only strongly in favour of the establishment of a bilingual district in the region but they proposed that it should be very extensive, including in addition to census subdivision D—West Labrador the adjoining territory in Quebec which contained mineral sites then under development or likely to be developed in the near future. This view was influenced by the company's desire to have mobility in its bilingual labour force and the realization that its employees and their families might move more readily between sites in Quebec and Labrador if there were greater assurance of their obtaining federal services in their own language in a new location.

299. Fourth, the residents whom the Board met in Labrador City displayed a marked preference for a bilingual district encompassing the whole of subdivision D—West Labrador. At a meeting which the Board's team attended, about a dozen and a half residents, who were representative of a wide variety of occupations

and interests as well as of both language groups, gave unanimous approval to a resolution that all of the subdivision be recommended as a bilingual district.

300. Finally, this recommendation was supported very strongly by an elected representative of the region who also attended this meeting. Subsequently, the Newfoundland government endorsed the proposal enthusiastically.

Recommendation

301. A strong majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district known as West Labrador, to be comprised in the manner previously indicated.

Provincial Capital For Which Bilingual Services Are Recommended Under Sections 9(2) and 10

302. Since there were in 1971 no large urban centres in Newfoundland which fulfilled the criterion of having at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language, the supplementary recommendation which we shall offer in this regard in Part III of our report will not apply in Newfoundland.¹

303. However, our second supplementary recommendation which will make the same proposal in regard to all provincial capitals, without requiring a specific number of persons, will apply to the provincial capital of St. John's.²

St. John's

304. The designated area in this case is the census metropolitan area of St. John's, for which a geostatistical description and a map will be provided in Part III.³ In 1971 the census metropolitan area of St. John's had 150 persons, amounting to 0.1 per cent, whose language most often spoken at home was French.

¹ For the recommendation, see *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

² For the recommendation, see *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 2, paragraphs 1159-1160, p. 176.

³ *Infra*, Part III, pp. 202-203.

PROVINCE OF
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
FEDERAL BILINGUAL DISTRICTS

LEGEND
District Recommended

PROVINCE DE
L'ÎLE DU PRINCE-ÉDOUARD
DISTRICTS BILINGUES FÉDÉRAUX

LÉGENDE
District Recommandé



Prince Edward Island

Eligible Areas Not Recommended as Bilingual Districts

305. In 1971 almost all of the census subdivisions in Prince Edward Island which contained at least ten per cent of persons of the official language minority by mother tongue were located within the area which the Board is recommending as the bilingual district of Egmont. Only two census subdivisions having a minority population of at least ten per cent have not been included within the recommended district.

306. The two census subdivisions that are not recommended were contained within township 24 in the census division of Queens, which corresponded to the county of Queens. Township 24 was situated on the north shore of Queens county about ten miles north west of the capital city of Charlottetown.

307. The two subdivisions in question consisted of the village of North Rustico, which in 1971 had a total population of 765 people of whom 90 or 11.8 per cent were of French mother tongue, and the rural, remaining portion of the township which had an additional total population of 1,360 persons of whom 270 or 19.9 per cent were of French mother tongue. Thus the aggregate population of township 24 in 1971 was 2,125, of whom 360 or 16.9 per cent belonged to the French mother tongue minority.

308. Although the two subdivisions, either separately or combined, satisfied the minimal requirement of a bilingual district by having an official language minority amounting to at least ten per cent of the total population, the present Board decided, as the First Board had done, that it should not recommend the creation of any bilingual district in this area. The Board was of the opinion that even the maximal total size of the minority in the combined subdivisions was too small to warrant a district. The minority in this area also seemed to be less active in preserving its cultural identity than were some comparable groups elsewhere. Finally, the Board

noted that there were in any case few federal government services in this region.

Bilingual District Recommended in the Province of Prince Edward Island

1. Egmont

a. description

the bilingual district of Egmont consists of Townships No. 1 to 17 inclusive, the towns of Alberton and Summerside, and the villages of Miminigash, Miscouche, O'Leary, St. Eleanor's, St. Louis, Tignish, Tyne Valley, Wellington and Wilmot, in the census division of Prince.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Prince, division (pt)			
Townships 1 to 17.....	16,425	3,910	23.8
towns			
Alberton.....	975	50	5.1
Summerside.....	9,440	880	9.3
villages			
Miminigash.....	415	15	3.6
Miscouche.....	750	255	34.0
O'Leary.....	795	10	1.3
St. Eleanor's.....	1,620	75	4.6
St. Louis.....	165	70	42.4
Tignish.....	1,060	270	25.5
Tyne Valley.....	150	—	—
Wellington.....	345	240	69.6
Wilmot.....	735	10	1.4
total.....	32,875	5,785	17.6

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Egmont is located in the federal electoral district of Egmont and in part of the federal electoral district of Malpeque; it is located in the provincial electoral districts of First, Second and Fifth and in part of the Third and Fourth Electoral Districts of Prince County.

Details

309. The Board had no difficulty in deciding to recommend a bilingual district in this area which lies at the western end of Prince Edward Island. The census division of Prince, which corresponds to the county of the same name, contains the bulk of the Acadian people in the province. In 1971 it had approximately six thousand persons of the official language minority and a number of federal government services. Moreover, the residents of the area who were consulted favoured the establishment of a district, as did the provincial government.

Various Possibilities

310. The aspect of the recommendation on which the Board spent most time was the determination of the area to be included within the district. Although most members of the French mother tongue group in this western segment of the island resided within a coherent area composed of townships 1 to 17, which were census subdivisions within the census division of Prince, the minority population was not distributed evenly throughout the county. There were two major concentrations: one in the south in census subdivisions 14, 15, 16, and 17, and one in the north in census subdivisions 1 and 2. In the area between these two large aggregations of French-speaking persons there were eleven census subdivisions which had little or no population of French mother tongue.

311. Assuming that a bilingual district should be composed of a continuous area, the Board wondered which of the following possibilities it should favour: (1) a district for each of the two sections of concentration of the minority, omitting the intervening census subdivisions; or (2) one district for the sector in which the minority was larger and none for the other; or (3) a single district for the entire area comprising census subdivisions 1 to 17.

Possibility (1): Two Districts

312. The sector in the south, which is known as Evangeline, had a larger minority population than the sector of concentration in the north, which is often referred to as the Tignish area. In 1971, in the Evangeline sector, census subdivisions 14, 15 and 16 and the village of Wellington each had a strong concentration of the minority which was far greater than ten per cent. Aggregated, the population of this area was 3,450 persons, of whom 2,155 or 62.5 per cent were of French mother tongue.

313. Although the adjoining census subdivision 17 and the incorporated urban centres within it had a minority population that was considerably smaller in percentage terms, amounting to 9.9 per cent, the Board believed that this area merited inclusion in the southern sector since it contained Summerside, an important service centre which had an additional French mother tongue population of 880 individuals. If township 17 and its incorporated centres were included, the total population of the entire southern sector would be 18,190 persons, of whom 3,620 or 19.9 per cent would be of French mother tongue.

314. At the same time the Tignish area in the north, which was composed of census subdivisions 1 and 2 and the incorporated urban centres within them, had a total population of 4,805 people, of whom 1,860 or 38.7 per cent were of French mother tongue.

315. Thus each of the northern and southern sectors had a minority population well in excess of the ten per cent required for a bilingual district and each had a sufficiently large number of the minority that it would not be unreasonable to consider recommending two separate districts if it were deemed advisable to omit the intervening predominantly English mother tongue subdivisions.

316. However, the Board believed that it would be unwise to create two districts which would be relatively small and perhaps divisive in an area that was regarded by the minority as one community. Separation, moreover, would leave the Tignish area too isolated. The provincial government informed us also that it was going to establish a number of new regional service centres and that the one intended to serve residents of this area, including the French-speaking population, would be located in O'Leary. Since this village was situated in census subdivision 6 which lay between the two districts contemplated, it would not be included within either of the two bilingual districts. Inasmuch as O'Leary had only ten individuals of French mother tongue, it would be less appropriate and effective as a centre serving French-speaking residents if it were outside of a district than it would be if it were located within a federal bilingual district.

Possibility (2): Evangeline Alone

317. One member of the Board believed it might be advisable to recommend only one district, namely the Evangeline area, and to omit the Tignish area from a recommendation since there had been a considerable decrease in the French mother tongue population in the latter sector in the decade between the censuses

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
ILE-DU-PRINCE-ÉDOUARD



EGMONT

**Federal Bilingual District
LÉGENDE**

District Recommended
Federal Electoral District
Census Division
Census Subdivision 10

EGMONT

**District bilingue fédéral
LÉGENDE**

District recommande
Circonscription électorale fédérale
Division de recensement
Subdivision de recensement 10



of 1961 and 1971. However, this possibility was discounted because it was noted that the decline of the minority in the Tignish area was no greater than the decrease of the same group in some census subdivisions in the Evangeline sector.

Possibility (3): One Combined District

318. The foregoing reasons led the Board to favour recommending one district for the entire area which would include the Tignish and Evangeline sectors of concentration and the census subdivisions between them.

319. The Board's thinking was reinforced by several additional considerations. The combined district would be continuous, compact, and easily identifiable since it would be composed of census subdivisions 1 to 17 and the incorporated urban centres within them. It also would coincide, except in one small portion in the south-eastern corner, with the federal electoral district of Egmont. Furthermore, it would have the advantage of encompassing about four-fifths of all the persons of French mother tongue in the province. The region also would have a minority population substantially in excess of the ten per cent required as a minimum for a bilingual district since in 1971 the area had a total population of 32,875, of whom 5,785 persons or 17.6 per cent were of French mother tongue.

320. We discovered also that there already was some public acceptance of the conception of this area as a bilingual district. It arose from the fact that the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board had recommended a bilingual district for the same region of Egmont. Although no districts have been created, the First Board's report apparently had some effect. A team of members from the present Board, holding a meeting in Summerside, found that at least one federal agency had required that its locally published literature be produced in both official languages. At least one person attending the meeting believed that the area had already been declared a bilingual district. Some others exhibited impatience because a district had not yet been established.

321. Summerside, which would be included within the proposed district, had a number of federal govern-

ment offices and a military installation. It was also the the latter sector in the decade between the censuses second largest incorporated locality in the province and the principal federal service centre in this part of Prince Edward Island.

322. The residents from the area whom the Board consulted were in favour of the combined district. Their opinion was shared by la Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, which was the association representing the Acadians of Prince Edward Island. The larger district was much preferred also by the provincial government and by an elected representative of the residents in the area.

Recommendation

323. **The Board unanimously recommends that a bilingual district be established in the area designated as Egmont and described above.**

Provincial Capital For Which Bilingual Services Are Recommended Under Sections 9(2) and 10

324. Since there were in 1971 no large urban centres in Prince Edward Island which fulfilled the criterion of having at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language, the supplementary recommendation which we shall offer in this regard in Part III of our report will not apply in Prince Edward Island.⁴

325. However, our second supplementary recommendation which will make the same proposal in regard to all provincial capitals, without requiring a specific number of persons, will apply to the provincial capital of Charlottetown.⁵

Charlottetown

326. The designated area in this case is the census agglomeration of Charlottetown, for which a geostatistical description and a map will be provided in Part III.⁶ In 1971 the census agglomeration of Charlottetown had 90 persons, amounting to 0.4 per cent, whose language most often spoken at home was French.

⁴ For the recommendation, see *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

⁵ For the recommendation, see *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 2, paragraphs 1159-1160, p. 176.

⁶ *Infra*, Part III, pp. 194-195.

Nova Scotia

327. In 1971 the only regions in Nova Scotia that fulfilled the requirement of a bilingual district by having an official language minority which by mother tongue amounted to at least ten per cent of the total population were located in the combined census divisions of Antigonish, Inverness, and Richmond, and in Digby and Yarmouth. These census divisions corresponded to the counties of the same name.

328. The major French mother tongue concentrations in Nova Scotia were situated at opposite ends of the province. Three of the five census divisions which contained the concentrations were located in the northern portion of Nova Scotia while the remaining two were in the south west. Although Antigonish, Inverness, and Richmond are neighbouring counties in the north, Antigonish is separated from the latter two by the Strait of Canso. Antigonish is located on the mainland while Inverness and Richmond are situated in Cape Breton Island. Digby and Yarmouth are contiguous counties, lying at the other end of Nova Scotia in the south-west extremity.

Bilingual Districts Recommended in the Province of Nova Scotia

1. Antigonish—Inverness—Richmond

a. description

the bilingual district of Antigonish—Inverness—Richmond consists of the census divisions of Antigonish, Inverness and Richmond.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Divisions			
Antigonish.....	16,815	1,275	7.6
Inverness.....	20,375	3,820	18.7
Richmond.....	12,735	5,155	40.5
total.....	49,925	10,250	20.5

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Antigonish—Inverness—Richmond is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Cape Breton—East Richmond and Cape Breton Highlands—Canso. It is located in the provincial electoral districts of Antigonish, Inverness and Richmond.

Details

329. According to the 1971 census two of these three census divisions had a substantial French mother tongue population that amounted to at least ten per cent of the total while the third had only one census subdivision which satisfied the minimal requirement for a bilingual district.

330. Richmond had the largest number and percentage of persons of French mother tongue. The total of the minority was 5,155, which amounted to 40.5 per cent of the aggregate population of the census division. Inverness had a French mother tongue population of 3,820 persons who constituted 18.7 per cent of the census division's total population. The county of Antigonish had 1,275 individuals of French mother tongue but they accounted for less than ten per cent of the total population, the precise figure being 7.6 per cent. However, since most of the minority was concentrated in one area, there was a census subdivision in which the minority was fairly numerous and attained ten per cent. Known as census subdivision B—Pomquet-Tracadie, it was a predominantly rural area which excluded the town of Antigonish. It had 1,020 persons of French mother tongue who amounted to exactly 16.4 per cent of the total population in the census subdivision.

331. Although the minority had declined since 1961 by several percentage points in the counties of Antigonish and Richmond and by 12.7 per cent in Inverness, the Board believed that a bilingual district or districts should be recommended in the region since the minority was still very sizable. The problem was to

determine the number of districts and the most suitable boundaries.

Three Possibilities

332. There appeared to the Board to be several possible arrangements for creating bilingual districts and boundaries in the area. We examined the wisdom of recommending one of the following proposals: (1) a bilingual district for each of Antigonish, Inverness, and Richmond; or (2) two districts, one for each of Inverness and Richmond, linking Antigonish to one or the other or omitting it altogether; or (3) one district, combining Inverness and Richmond and either omitting or including Antigonish.

Possibility (1): Three Districts

333. The possibility of recommending three bilingual districts depended in particular on whether the county with the smallest number of the minority, namely Antigonish, was viable as a separate district.

334. In trying to answer this question, the Board recalled the point mentioned previously, namely that the area in Antigonish county which had the largest population of French mother tongue amounting to at least ten per cent of the total was census subdivision B—Pomquet-Tracadie. However, its total minority population consisted of only 1,020 persons, and there were few, if any, federal government offices in the subdivision. This census subdivision did not include the town of Antigonish which had more federal services but only 150 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 2.7 per cent of the town's population.

335. Because of the limited number of the minority and the scarcity of federal offices, the Board concluded that it would not be advisable to recommend a bilingual district for census subdivision B—Pomquet-Tracadie alone. Inasmuch as this was the only subdivision which qualified as a bilingual district in the county of Antigonish, it thus was not possible for the Board to recommend a separate bilingual district for all or part of the census division of Antigonish. Nevertheless, the Board kept in mind that it might be possible to include all or part of the census division of Antigonish within a more extensive bilingual district.

Possibility (2): Two Districts

336. The next possibility was to consider recommending only two districts, one for each of Inverness

and Richmond, attaching Antigonish to one or the other or else omitting it entirely.

337. The chief argument in favour of recommending Inverness and Richmond as two districts was that the creation of a separate district for Inverness might ensure that the minority in that area would be better served in its own language by local federal government offices. If there were only one district and Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act were interpreted stringently, it was conceivable that bilingual services might be provided at "principal offices" which might be located more frequently in Richmond than in Inverness since the former had a larger minority population than the latter. Some members of the minority group in Cheticamp were apprehensive of such an eventuality since they believed that their locality had been somewhat neglected in the past.

338. Second, if there were two districts, it would be possible to limit the Inverness district to the part within it which contained the major concentration of persons of French mother tongue, namely, census subdivision A—Cheticamp-Margaree, omitting census subdivisions B—Inverness-Port Hood and C—River Denys-Port Hawkesbury which had very small minority populations. Located in the north of Inverness county, census subdivision A had 3,445 persons of French mother tongue in 1971, amounting to 52.0 per cent of the total population. The rest of Inverness division had only a small number and percentage of persons of French mother tongue, amounting in all to 370 individuals. Thus, if subdivision A were selected as a bilingual district, it would be smaller in extent but much more French in character and appearance. Pinpointing it as a bilingual district might also make it a symbol of the existence of the local minority and strengthen its morale.

339. However, after some reflection the Board concluded that the Cheticamp-Margaree area contained too few federal services and was too remote and isolated to warrant being recommended separately as a bilingual district.

340. The Board also considered briefly whether it would be wise to try to link together in one bilingual district the census division of Inverness and either the whole of Antigonish county or census subdivision B—Pomquet-Tracadie. However, the Board gathered from its consultations in Inverness that residents of Cape Breton did not identify themselves with the Antigonish area and that few, if any, of them sought federal services in the latter region.

ANTIGONISH - INVERNESS - RICHMOND

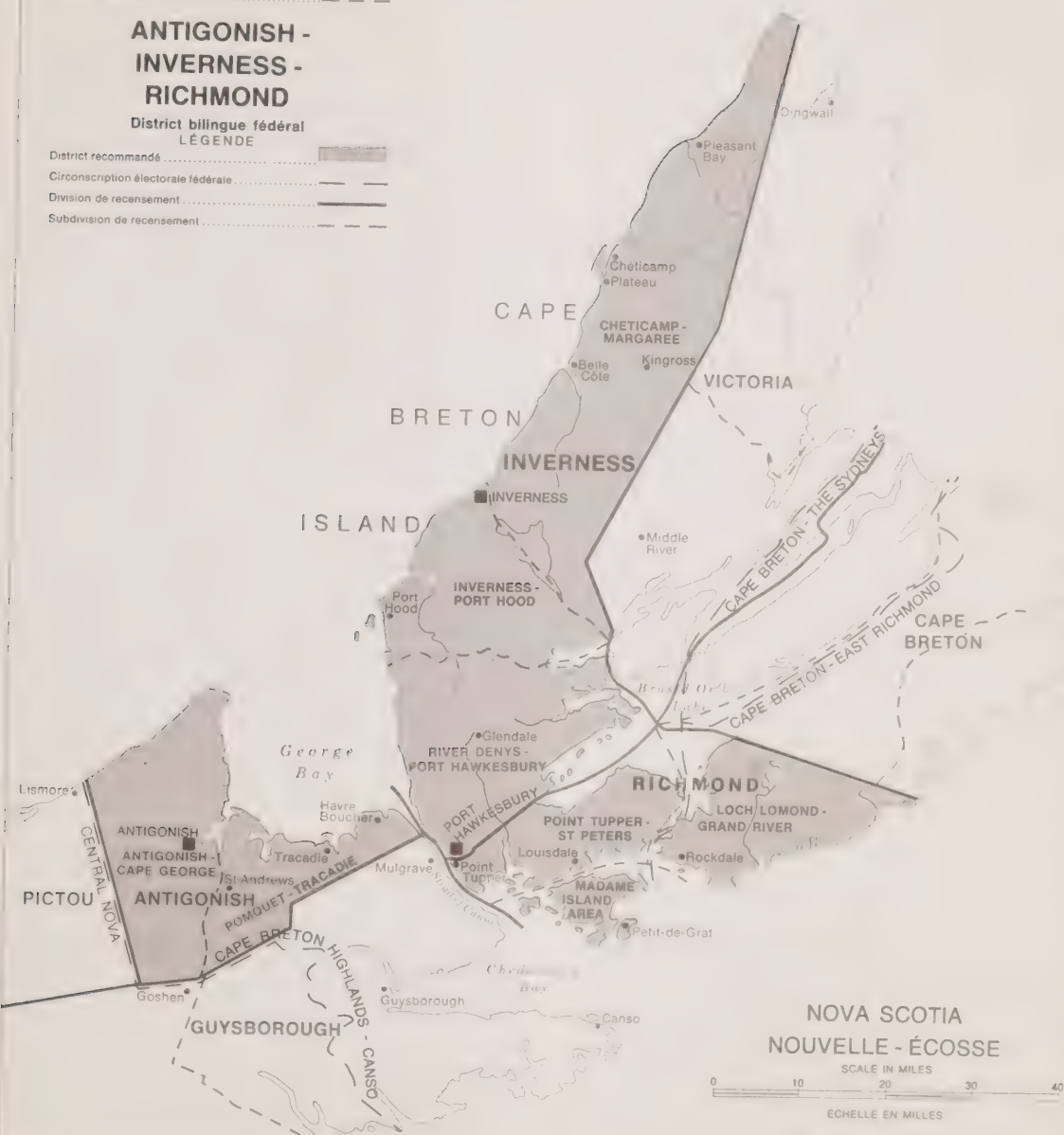
Federal Bilingual District
LÉGENDE

District Recommended	
Federal Electoral District	
Census Division	
Census Subdivision	

ANTIGONISH - INVERNESS - RICHMOND

District bilingue fédéral
LÉGENDE

District recommandé	
Circonscription électorale fédérale	
Division de recensement	
Subdivision de recensement	



NOVA SCOTIA
NOUVELLE - ÉCOSSE



341. An alternative was to consider linking the census division of Antigonish or the relevant part of it with Richmond, omitting Inverness from such a district. But Antigonish and Richmond are even less proximate than Antigonish and Inverness.

342. The Board concluded, therefore, that it would not pursue further the advisability of recommending two districts, Inverness and Richmond, with Antigonish linked to one or the other of them.

Possibility (3): One District

343. The remaining possibility was to consider a district composed of Inverness and Richmond with all or part of Antigonish either omitted or included.

344. The Board quickly concluded that the combined region of Inverness and Richmond certainly was an appropriate area to be recommended as a bilingual district. In 1971 it had nearly 9,000 persons of French mother tongue who amounted to about 27 per cent of the total population. About 1,600 of the minority were unilingual. The area also had a reasonable number of federal government offices, some of which had already provided services in French, although local residents told us that there was room for improvement. French radio and television programs were available.

345. The region was so accustomed to the presence of bilingualism that we discovered some persons in both Richmond and Cheticamp who were under the impression that a bilingual district had already been created there. During our visits we did not encounter any individual of any language affiliation who was antagonistic to the proposal of establishing a bilingual district, although there was some indifference. There was also some incredulity that there should be any doubt about recommending as a bilingual district an area like Richmond which had a minority population amounting to 40.5 per cent.

346. What did give the Board pause was the question of whether or not the census division of Antigonish, or some part of it, should be added to the bilingual district recommended for the combined area of Richmond and Inverness. The First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board had recommended that all three counties be combined within one district. But one member of the present Board was opposed to this suggestion on the grounds that the county of Antigonish was predominantly English-speaking, that the minority of French mother tongue was relatively small in number, amounting to only 7.6 per cent, that the county had compara-

tively few federal offices, and that Antigonish was considered by the residents of Inverness and Richmond to be quite separate from Cape Breton. This member of the Board, however, was prepared to include within the proposed bilingual district census subdivision B—Pomquet-Tracadie.

347. Another objection raised against adding Antigonish county to the district was that while the inclusion of a service centre such as the town of Antigonish might appear to benefit the minority by increasing bilingual facilities, it might be in the long run a disadvantage to the minority since the predominantly English-speaking character and population of Antigonish county could increase the rate of assimilation of the minority to the majority's culture.

348. When the Board asked local residents whom we met for their opinions about the advisability of including Antigonish county, we received unanimously affirmative replies. Whether they were of English or French mother tongue or residents of Cape Breton or Antigonish, they were in favour of including the entire census division of Antigonish rather than of omitting it or including merely census subdivision B—Pomquet-Tracadie. The only reservations expressed arose from apprehensions about the possible effect of the creation of a bilingual district upon local employment opportunities.

349. Our respondents gave a number of reasons for their positive response to the larger district. They said that it would permit the additional 1,275 persons of French mother tongue who lived in Antigonish county to benefit from the advantages of being within a bilingual district and it also would strengthen the French presence in the district. The more extensive area would contain 10,250 individuals of French mother tongue who would amount to 20.5 per cent of the total population.

350. We were told that the larger district would profit from the inclusion of the University of St. Francis Xavier which is located in the town of Antigonish. It was stated also that if the county of Antigonish were added, its school boards might provide more extensive second language training. We were informed that since the vocational high school in Port Hawkesbury was already serving Antigonish as well as Richmond, Inverness, and Guysborough, there was a precedent for considering the combined area as one region. We heard also that it was likely that additional regional facilities to serve both sides of the Strait of Canso would soon be situated in Port Hawkesbury.

351. The Board was able to consult with several elected representatives from the region. One expressed no objections to the proposal to include the three counties in one bilingual district and the others were strongly in favour of the recommendation. The government of Nova Scotia also favoured the recommendation. All of these factors influenced the Board's conclusion.

Recommendation

352. A strong majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district for the area composed of the three census divisions of Antigonish, Inverness, and Richmond.

2. Digby—Yarmouth

a. description

the bilingual district of Digby—Yarmouth consists of the census divisions of Digby and Yarmouth.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Divisions			
Digby.....	20,350	7,730	38.0
Yarmouth.....	24,685	7,785	31.5
total.....	45,035	15,515	34.5

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Digby—Yarmouth is located in part of the federal electoral district of South Western Nova, and in the provincial electoral districts of Clare, Digby and Yarmouth.

Details

353. Digby and Yarmouth are two contiguous counties which comprise the south-western extremity of the mainland of Nova Scotia near the entrance to the Bay of Fundy. Yarmouth lies to the south of Digby. According to the 1971 census, each of these two counties, which were also census divisions, had a French mother tongue minority which was substantial in number and very much greater than the minimum of ten per cent required for a bilingual district. Digby census division had 7,730 persons of French mother tongue who amounted to 38.0 per cent of the total population. Yarmouth census division had 7,785 individuals of French mother tongue who accounted for 31.5 per cent of the total population.

354. The minority, however, was not distributed evenly throughout each census division. On the contrary, it was heavily concentrated in one subdivision within each county. Thus in Digby more than nine-tenths of the mother tongue minority resided in the subdivision of Clare, which is the heart of the Acadian community in western Nova Scotia. Known locally as "the French shore", this area was one of the strongest French minority communities in Eastern Canada. In 1971 it had a French mother tongue population of 7,155 persons, a number so large that it accounted for 79.7 per cent of the total population of Clare. In Yarmouth census division the bulk of French mother tongue persons lived in the census subdivision of Argyle, which had 5,970 members of the minority, amounting again to a very large proportion of the total population, 70.1 per cent to be precise.

Several Possibilities

355. In view of these statistics and the local situation which a group of Board members assessed by visiting the area and holding consultations, the Board had no doubt that Clare and Argyle were eminently suited to be recommended as a bilingual district or districts. This conclusion, however, did not exhaust all of the possibilities. The Board wondered whether it would not be better to recommend a district or districts which were more extensive than the relatively small census subdivisions of Clare and Argyle.

356. Studying the possibilities, we examined the advisability of recommending one of the following arrangements: (1) a bilingual district for the entire county of Yarmouth rather than merely for its census subdivision of Argyle; (2) a bilingual district for the whole county of Digby rather than merely for its census subdivision of Clare; or (3) one bilingual district comprised of both counties of Digby and Yarmouth.

(1) Yarmouth

357. The Board did not require much time to decide that the whole of Yarmouth county was more suitable as a bilingual district than merely its census subdivision of Argyle. The statistics for the census subdivisions in the county and the location of federal offices pointed clearly in this direction.

358. Yarmouth census division was composed of the census subdivisions of Argyle and Yarmouth, the town of Yarmouth, and an Indian reserve that may be passed over since it contained only five persons. Argyle, as

DIGBY-YARMOUTH

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

District Recommended

Federal Electoral District

Census Division

Census Subdivision

DIGBY-YARMOUTH

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

District recommandé

Circonscription électorale fédérale

Division de recensement

Subdivision de recensement



NOVA SCOTIA
NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE

SCALE IN MILES
0 10 20
ECHELLE EN MILES

already noted, had 5,970 members of the minority group, amounting to 70.1 per cent. The town of Yarmouth had a French minority of 1,040 individuals who amounted to 12.2 per cent of the town's total population while the census subdivision of Yarmouth had 770 persons of French mother tongue who constituted 10.1 per cent of the total population. The town of Yarmouth was the major service centre for the whole county. Argyle, on the contrary, by itself had few federal government services. Hence, it seemed inconceivable to the Board to recommend a bilingual district that consisted of Argyle alone, rather than of the entire county of Yarmouth.

(2) Digby

359. Much the same sort of reasoning applied to Digby county although the statistics were not as supportive. Neither the census subdivision of Digby nor the town of Digby, which in addition to Clare and a small Indian reserve comprised Digby county, had an official language minority amounting to ten per cent. The town of Digby had 140 persons of French mother tongue amounting to 5.9 per cent of the total population. The census subdivision of Digby had 430 members of the minority, constituting 4.8 per cent.

360. However, although there were more federal services in the county outside of the town of Digby than there were in the neighbouring county outside of the town of Yarmouth, Digby was still, like Yarmouth, the major service centre for its hinterland. We were told on more than one occasion that many residents of the French shore, including some who were unilingual French-speaking, went to Digby to obtain federal as well as commercial services. Some also went to Yarmouth since the French shore is located about midway on a stretch of highway between the two towns, but Digby seemed to attract the greater traffic.

361. It certainly was apparent to us that many of the inhabitants of the French shore, particularly in the northern portion, had more significant lines of communication and greater affinity with Digby than with Yarmouth. This relationship was attributable in large part to the fact that the focal point of the Acadians in south-western Nova Scotia is their unique institution of higher education, le Collège Sainte-Anne, and it is located at Church Point which is closer to Digby than to Yarmouth.

362. Clare and Digby also seemed to have a number of traditional bonds and a sense of community. An English-speaking elected official in Digby told us that

he considered the whole of the county to be a social unit and that the town would suffer if it were separated in any administrative way from the French shore. He informed us that this sentiment was so strong in Digby that when it had been proposed that the French Collège Sainte-Anne should be moved to Yarmouth, the predominantly English-speaking town council of Digby had passed a resolution urging that the Collège be retained at Church Point. The group of local Acadian leaders whom we consulted at a meeting in Church Point were equally convinced that Digby should be included in any bilingual district that involved them.

363. We learned also from local school officials in Digby that as a result of the First Board's recommendation that Digby be included in a bilingual district, the school board had made considerable efforts to increase the amount of instruction in French provided to English-speaking students. Although the board had not received as much financial support for these attempts as it had hoped might be forthcoming from federal grants administered by provincial authorities, the educational officials wished to continue their efforts and they believed that they might obtain more adequate assistance if Digby were included in a bilingual district.

364. We were informed that there had been little or no opposition locally to the First Board's recommendation to include Digby in a bilingual district. Most persons had either been indifferent to the recommendation or else favourably disposed towards it. Our informants told us that public opinion had not changed significantly since 1971 although some concern had been expressed recently about how the provision of bilingual federal services might affect local employment opportunities in the public service. However, they did not believe that such apprehension amounted to opposition. We were advised that on balance there would be more discussion raised in Digby if the latter were omitted from a bilingual district than if it were included. Finally, our own direct consultations with individuals in the area did not elicit any objections to the inclusion of Digby in a proposed bilingual district. For all of these reasons, the Board concluded that the whole of the Digby census division should be included in any recommended bilingual district.

(3) One District Rather Than Two

365. The remaining question was whether the Board should propose two bilingual districts, one for Digby division and one for Yarmouth division, or only one district containing both. The Board had no difficulty

in deciding in favour of the latter recommendation, which was identical to the proposal made by the First Board. The combined area had a very large minority of persons of French mother tongue, both in numbers which totalled 15,515, and in proportion which amounted to 34.5 per cent. Although the proportion of the minority had decreased slightly from 35.1 per cent in 1961, the total had increased somewhat from 15,302 in 1961.

366. The Board was also impressed by the fact that the establishment of a combined district would undoubtedly assist the weaker minority group located in Argyle. The latter concentration had demonstrated renewed interest recently in the preservation of its language and had taken steps to promote its use, but it was obvious that these efforts would be strengthened by any arrangement which would bring the Argyle group into closer contact with the larger, flourishing community in Clare.

367. The members of the minority whom we met in Argyle were not only strongly in favour of having a bilingual district but wished to have one district that would be composed of both Yarmouth and Digby counties. This opinion was expressed with similar force by virtually all of the other individuals and groups whom we consulted in Yarmouth, Church Point, and Digby, whether they were English or French. We were impressed by the unanimous conviction that Yarmouth and Digby should constitute one bilingual district.

368. The only reservation that appeared, apart from the concern about the impact of a district upon the employment market, was the apprehension that if one district were created and Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act were interpreted narrowly, it was conceivable that fewer bilingual services than were satisfactory might be provided if they were confined to "principal offices" located only in either Yarmouth or Digby.

369. We must note that we also heard complaints from citizens that existing federal bilingual services in Yarmouth and Digby were less than adequate. This view was not shared by federal civil servants whom we met since they believed they were fulfilling satisfactorily the requests they received. Although the discrepancy between these contrary opinions would not be explained solely by the following factor, it appeared that a number of persons who wished to obtain services in the

minority language did not seek them in their own tongue because they believed that to do so would incur delays or other personal disadvantages.

370. The other major complaint which emerged frequently was that the reception of French television and radio programs was unsatisfactory. Despite the fact that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation had apparently made an earnest effort to provide such facilities to the minority in this region, the success of the attempt seemed to be impeded by technological, topographical, or atmospheric problems. Perhaps the most unfortunate example occurred at Church Point. In this locality, which included the Acadian College, the reception of French language television broadcasting was consistently so poor that French-speaking children, who could have profited from watching and hearing programmes presented in precise French, followed English telecasts instead because of their superior visual quality.

371. The members of the minority whom we met in this locality, as well as elsewhere, were convinced that the provision of radio and television programs in the language of the minority was one of the most important, if not the most important, facility the federal government could offer to assist the minority in preserving and fostering its language.

372. All of the elected representatives whom the Board consulted in the two counties either agreed with the proposal that the combined census divisions of Digby and Yarmouth should be recommended as a bilingual district or else did not voice any objection to the suggestion. Subsequently, representatives of the government of Nova Scotia gave strong approval to the proposal. The conformity of these views with our other findings influenced the Board greatly.

Recommendation

373. The Board recommends unanimously that a bilingual district be established for the combined census divisions of Digby and Yarmouth.

Provincial Capital for Which Bilingual Services Are Recommended Under Sections 9(2) and 10

374. Since there were in 1971 no large urban centres in Nova Scotia which fulfilled the criterion of having at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language, the supplementary recommendation which we shall offer in this

regard in Part III of our report will not apply in Nova Scotia.⁷

375. However, our second supplementary recommendation which will make the same proposal in regard to all provincial capitals, without requiring a specific number of persons, will apply to the provincial capital of Halifax.⁸

Halifax

376. The designated area in this case is the census metropolitan area of Halifax, for which a geostatistical description and a map will be provided in Part III.⁹ In 1971 the census metropolitan area of Halifax had 2,655 persons, amounting to 1.2 per cent, whose language most often spoken at home was French.

⁷ For the recommendation, see *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

⁸ For the recommendation, see *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 2, paragraphs 1159-1160, p. 176.

⁹ *Infra*, Part III, pp. 198-199.



NEW BRUNSWICK

Federal Bilingual District
LEGEND

District Recommended	—————
Federal Electoral District	.....
Census Division	=====
Census Subdivision	-----

NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK

District bilingue fédéral
LEGENDE

District recommandé	—————
Circonscription électorale fédérale	.....
Division de recensement	=====
Subdivision de recensement	-----



New Brunswick

Bilingual District Recommended in the Province of New Brunswick

1. The Entire Province

a. *description*

the bilingual district of New Brunswick consists of the entire province of New Brunswick.

b. *1971 census statistics*

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Province			
New Brunswick.....	634,555	215,730	34.0
total.....	634,555	215,730	34.0

c. *electoral districts*

the bilingual district of New Brunswick is located in the federal electoral districts of Carleton—Charlotte, Fundy—Royal, Gloucester, Madawaska—Victoria, Moncton, Northumberland—Miramichi, Restigouche, Saint John—Lancaster, Westmorland—Kent and York—Sunbury; it is located in the provincial electoral districts of Albert, Bathurst, Bay du Vin, Kent South, Campbellton, Caraquet, Carleton Centre, Carleton North, Carleton South, Charlotte Centre, Charlotte—Fundy, Charlotte West, Chatham, Dalhousie, Edmundston, Fredericton North, Fredericton South, Grand Falls, Kent Centre, Kings Centre, Kings East, Kings West, Kent North, Madawaska Centre, Madawaska—les-Lacs, Madawaska South, Memramcook, Miramichi Bay, Miramichi—Newcastle, Southwest—Miramichi, Moncton East, Moncton North, Moncton West, Nepisiquit—Chaleur, Nigadoo—Chaleur, Oromocto, Petitcodiac, Queens North, Queens South, Restigouche East, Restigouche West, Riverview, East Saint John, Saint John—Fundy, Saint John Harbour, Saint John North, Saint John Park, Saint John South, Saint John

West, St. Stephen—Milltown, Shediac, Shippegan—les-Iles, Sunbury, Tantramar, Tracadie, Victoria—Tobique, York North, and York South.

A Unique Case

377. The basic question which confronted the Board in regard to New Brunswick was whether to recommend the whole of the province as a bilingual district or to consider recommending only those areas within it which had official language minorities that amounted by mother tongue to at least ten per cent.

378. The gross figures for the province certainly seemed to warrant considering the entire province as a bilingual district. New Brunswick, as it is well known, is the province in Canada which has the largest percentage of persons belonging to an official language minority by mother tongue. It is also the province which has the third largest number of members of an official language minority. According to the 1971 census, New Brunswick had 215,730 residents of French mother tongue. Ontario had slightly more than twice as many persons of the same language affiliation while Quebec had more than three and a half times as many individuals of English mother tongue. However, New Brunswick's official language minority amounted to 34.0 per cent of the province's total population. In contrast, the equivalent group in Ontario amounted to merely 6.3 per cent of that province's total population while the English mother tongue group in Quebec constituted only 13.1 per cent of the latter province's total population. Thus in terms of the magnitude of its percentage, the official language minority in New Brunswick was distinctive and unique.

379. Since the return of the Acadians after their expulsion, New Brunswick's French mother tongue population has grown remarkably, although the rate of increase of this minority and its percentage have decreased recently. In the most recent three censuses the figures for the minority have been 185,110 or 35.9

per cent in 1951, 210,530 or 35.2 per cent in 1961, and 215,730 or 34.0 per cent in 1971.

Fundamental Complication

380. Although the magnitude of the minority would seem to point to the simple conclusion that the entire province should be recommended as a bilingual district, there was a fundamental complication. A more detailed examination of the demographic statistics showed that the minority was not distributed evenly throughout the expanse of the province but was concentrated instead in certain areas. By census divisions, which were identical to the province's counties, the proportion of the minority varied from a maximum of 94.6 per cent in Madawaska to a minimum of 2.0 per cent in Carleton. At a more microcosmic level, in the case of some census subdivisions, for instance, the discrepancy reached the ultimate, varying from 100 per cent to 0.0 per cent.

381. While instances of the latter sort were rare, there were a number of census divisions in which the minority amounted to substantially less than the ten per cent required for a bilingual district and others in which the minority was so large that it exceeded 80 per cent. Thus, as the accompanying table indicates, six of the fifteen census divisions in New Brunswick in 1971 had populations containing only five per cent or less than five per cent of the official language minority while three had populations containing more than 80 per cent of the minority. Most of the census subdivisions within these nine divisions reflected the same sort of imbalance.

TABLE I

Percentage Distribution of the Population by Official Language Mother Tongues for Census Divisions in New Brunswick, 1971*

Division	English	French
Albert.....	97.0	2.4
Carleton.....	97.2	2.0
Charlotte.....	94.9	4.4
Gloucester.....	16.9	82.8
Kent.....	14.6	81.4
Kings.....	96.5	2.5
Madawaska.....	5.1	94.6
Northumberland.....	72.0	25.8
Queens.....	89.8	8.6
Restigouche.....	39.7	59.8
St. John.....	91.0	7.6
Sunbury.....	93.3	5.0
Victoria.....	58.2	38.9
Westmorland.....	58.8	40.3
York.....	92.6	4.9

* Percentages for each division do not total 100 per cent because figures for other mother tongues have been omitted.

Considerable Unilingualism

382. An analysis of the table brought home to the Board the realization that more than half of the fifteen census divisions in New Brunswick tended to be, in fact, much more unilingual English-speaking than bilingual in their mother tongue composition. Accordingly, we wondered what need there would be for bilingual services, particularly in those counties which had as little as or less than five per cent of the minority.

383. We noted that there were eight overwhelmingly English-speaking countries. In six of them—Albert, Carleton, Charlotte, Kings, Sunbury, and York—the English mother tongue population amounted to 92.6 per cent or more and the French mother tongue group to five per cent or less. In the other two divisions the population was almost as overwhelmingly English-speaking. The minority was somewhat larger but still less than ten per cent. St. John had an English mother tongue population of 91.0 per cent and a minority of 7.6 per cent while the figures for Queens were 89.8 per cent and 8.6 per cent respectively.

384. All eight counties were located in the south west of the province. Thus, if Queens and St. John were grouped with Albert, Carleton, Charlotte, Kings, Sunbury, and York, there would be one large continuous sector of south-western New Brunswick which would be preponderantly English-speaking and without any census division containing at least ten per cent of persons of French mother tongue.

385. Because of this configuration of the population, New Brunswick has often been thought of as a province which is divided linguistically into two sectors demarcated by a diagonal line running from Edmundston in the north west to Moncton in the south east. The south-western sector, which corresponds rather closely to the area composed of the eight counties described above, is assumed to be entirely English-speaking while the remaining portion, Madawaska and the north-eastern sector, is thought of as predominantly French-speaking or bilingual.

386. If this assumption were accurate in every respect and if there were no complications, it might be easy to solve the problem of recommending bilingual districts for New Brunswick. One could dispense with recommending districts in the south west and propose districts in the north east where the minority exceeded ten per cent.

Diagonal Division Not Feasible

387. However, for a number of reasons it did not seem feasible to propose such a simple solution.

388. First, the diagonal line that supposedly divides the province into two neat language zones is by no means an accurate boundary between the two language groups. Thus, three of the seven census divisions in the northeastern sector, namely Northumberland, Victoria, and Westmorland, had an English mother tongue majority in 1971 rather than a French mother tongue majority, although the latter group was very sizable, varying from 25.8 per cent to 38.9 and 40.3 per cent respectively. Furthermore, within three of the remaining four north-eastern divisions which were predominantly of French mother tongue there were a number of urban centres and census subdivisions, the largest of which were Bathurst, Campbellton, Dalhousie, and Edmundston, that had an aggregate of thousands of individuals of English mother tongue. Although the comparable situation in the south-western sector was not nearly so striking, there were also some pockets of French mother tongue persons in this area, most noticeably in St. John and Fredericton.

389. Second, while it would be possible in the north east to recommend as a bilingual district or districts six census divisions which had either a French or English mother tongue minority of at least ten per cent, such an arrangement would have serious disadvantages. While Gloucester, Kent, Northumberland, Restigouche, Victoria, and Westmorland could be grouped together to form a continuous district in the north east of the province, this decision would create a situation in which the counties which were overwhelmingly French-speaking were incorporated into a bilingual district while the counties in the south west which were preponderantly English-speaking were not recommended as a bilingual district. The Board believed that this discrepancy would be inequitable and injurious to the minority in the province.

390. It would mean also that Fredericton, the capital of a province which had passed its own official languages act to provide provincial bilingual services, would be excluded from a federal bilingual district whose purpose was to ensure the provision of similar federal services. The Board thought that such an arrangement would be incongruous, to say the least.

391. The confinement of bilingual districts to the north east would also exclude St. John, the principal industrial and commercial city in the province, from a federal bilingual district. Obviously, the omission of Fredericton and St. John from a bilingual district could be a handicap to unilingual French-speaking residents from other parts of the province who needed to travel to either of these large centres to transact business with the federal government.

392. Third, there was also the problem that if all of the south-western sector of the province were omitted from a bilingual district, there would be a large portion of New Brunswick in which it would not be obligatory for the federal government by Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act to provide bilingual customs and immigration services at such strategic and very visible places as ports of entry to Canada. The same deficiency would apply, of course, to other federal facilities in this extensive region.

393. Fourth, the possibility of recommending the six north-eastern census divisions as a bilingual district or districts confronted us with a problem with which we had now become very familiar. We wondered how the phrase "principal offices" in Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act would be interpreted. If it were defined generously, the recommendation of only one district for the combined six divisions might still result in an adequate supply of bilingual services. On the other hand, if it were to be interpreted stringently, rather limited bilingual services might be offered. If so, we might be well advised to recommend six districts in order to increase the number of principal offices and presumably the extent of bilingual services.

394. Finally, another troublesome factor appeared in regard to recommending districts in north-eastern and north-western New Brunswick. The difficulty arose from the fact that persons belonging to the official language which was in the minority within the province as a whole were so numerous and concentrated in at least three census divisions, Gloucester, Kent, and Madawaska, that a great many localities in these divisions had populations that were one hundred per cent or nearly one hundred per cent of French mother tongue. Such places were obviously unilingual rather than bilingual. Yet, if they were included within a bilingual district, they might well be required to furnish bilingual federal services.

395. While the bilingual capacity might be of benefit occasionally to a visitor or a passer-by, it was clear to the Board that it would be of little practical use to local unilingual French-speaking residents, and that on the contrary it might render them a disservice in the long run by encouraging the process of assimilation to English. Under these conditions the Board could not see that the creation of a bilingual district would fulfil the purpose intended for bilingual districts, namely, to serve the minority in its own language. Instead, in such circumstances a bilingual district might well defeat its original purpose and be a detriment to the minority.

Other Possibilities

396. Another possibility suggested to the Board was that it should recommend the relocation and dispersal of federal principal offices to places in New Brunswick which had such large proportions of both English and French mother tongue groups that they could constitute or be part of obvious bilingual districts. Thus, for instance, certain federal regional offices might be moved from Fredericton and St. John, which did not have the minimal minority requirement for a bilingual district, and be established in Moncton or other cities like Bathurst, Edmundston, or Campbellton, or smaller centres which had the requisite minimum of ten per cent. However, it was evident to the Board that while this proposal might solve some problems, it likely would create other difficulties. An alternative was to consider leaving the location of regional offices undisturbed but to recommend the establishment of new sub-offices in bilingual areas for departments whose services were used extensively by the public, such as fisheries, agriculture, or manpower.

397. A related alternative presented to the Board was the suggestion that in recommending bilingual districts, we might shift our focus from census divisions to individual municipalities which had at least ten per cent of the minority. The argument was that we might pinpoint specific smaller localities which had obvious needs for bilingual services and, by recommending them as districts, escape the problems inherent in considering larger districts such as counties.

398. However, there was a major weakness in this proposal. The adoption of it would mean that large areas of the province in which it was important to have bilingual services would be omitted from any bilingual district. If municipalities were chosen, the bilingual districts recommended would be confined to certain localities in north-eastern New Brunswick alone since these areas would be the only places that would have the required minimum of ten per cent of the minority. Excluded from any bilingual district would be the cities of Fredericton and St. John and almost all of the other urban centres in the south-western sector of New Brunswick except a handful of five localities, the largest of which would have 3,880 residents.

399. For all of these reasons we were convinced that it would not be advisable to attempt to use municipalities or urban centres as the basis for delineating bilingual districts.

Consultations

400. Before arriving at final conclusions we sought counsel in various quarters. The present Board decided that it did not need to visit extensively and hold consultations throughout the province because the First Board had visited and held meetings in New Brunswick as recently as 1970 and the percentage of the Official Language mother tongue population had not changed appreciably since then.

401. We also were aware that the public in New Brunswick was more familiar than most Canadians with the concept of a statute establishing English and French as official languages and providing for bilingual governmental services because New Brunswick has been the only province which has enacted such legislation. The province passed its own Official Language Act in 1969, prior to the federal government's adoption of a similar statute, and the provincial legislation had been preceded by the tabling of a white paper on the subject. Both the white paper and the bill leading to the Act had been debated extensively in the legislature and by the public. Finally, the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board had recommended in 1971 that the whole province be declared a bilingual district. Thus, most of the present Board believed that there had been ample opportunity during a lengthy period for residents of this province to discuss the subject of bilingual services.

402. We did consult the government of New Brunswick, and while we were in Fredericton we took the opportunity to call on municipal officials who were available. In conformity with the Board's decision to seek advice from all those members of Parliament whose constituencies might be included in a proposed bilingual district, we also invited the ten members of Parliament from New Brunswick to meet with the Board. They all accepted our invitation, and in due course we met separately with five Liberal members of Parliament and one Liberal senator and with five Progressive Conservative members of Parliament.

Discussions with Parliamentarians

403. We had extensive and profitable discussions with the parliamentarians. The consultations need not be described in detail here because the questions raised, together with the ensuing discussions, were almost identical with the analysis that has been presented in the foregoing portion of this review of New Brunswick. However, the tenor of the discussions and the conclusions that were reached should be reported.

404. Initially, the parliamentarians were divided in their opinions about the wisdom of recommending that the entire province should be one bilingual district. The differences of opinion did not correspond to distinctions in the members' partisan affiliations or mother tongue origins. Several members were very strongly in favour of the whole province being declared a bilingual district. At least one was vigorously opposed. A number had reservations of varying degree. Some felt that the inclusion of all of New Brunswick in a bilingual district would help to unite the province while others believed that such a recommendation would divide the province.

405. Similar disagreements and apprehensions were expressed when it was proposed that a diagonal line drawn from Edmundston to Moncton might be recognized as a language frontier between the predominantly English-speaking and French-speaking areas of New Brunswick. One member of Parliament favoured adopting such a boundary because in his opinion it confirmed a social reality. However, several of his colleagues from both parties were dismayed by the prospect since they believed it would be destructive inasmuch as it would reinforce existing divisions in the province, thus encouraging the growth of ghettos. One member protested that it would freeze the current unfair situation in which the south west was unilingual English-speaking while the north east was bilingual. There was also a good deal of concern that such an arrangement would create pockets of the minority within areas which were in themselves pockets of the majority.

406. Several members were disturbed by the prospect of setting boundary lines of any kind since they believed that frontiers tended by their nature to be divisive. The parliamentarians considered the possibility of selecting certain municipalities or urban centres with hinterland areas as bilingual districts but rejected this proposal for the reasons which have been described previously. In this connection one participant raised the possibility of transferring some federal regional offices from Fredericton and St. John, which were more unilingual, to locations such as Moncton which were more bilingual.

407. At least one parliamentarian expressed the view that the Official Languages Act ought to be amended to remedy a number of the problems which we had been discussing, for example, the difficulty of drawing boundaries and confining bilingual districts to certain areas. Several participants wondered if it might not be possible to accomplish a good deal more by issuing administra-

tive regulations than by having the Board recommend specific bilingual districts. They hypothesized, for instance, that New Brunswick might be declared a bilingual district in principle but exceptions might be implemented by regulation.

408. This suggestion led a number of the parliamentarians to emphasize what they considered to be the most important aspect of any recommendation concerning bilingualism, namely, that common sense should be used in providing federal bilingual services and that public servants should take care to proceed slowly in achieving their objective without offending the local population. This admonition was repeated concerning the way in which the phrase "principal offices" should be interpreted and the way in which bilingual criteria should be applied in filling local federal government positions. We were told that "principal offices" should be defined as federal offices in larger centres. We were also given several recent instances of staffing in which animosity and unpleasantness had been created for all concerned. A number of members of Parliament believed that some of their constituents regarded federal bilingual positions in their locality as threats to traditional employment patterns and that they and their families would lose career opportunities to bilingual persons brought in from outside the area.

409. The greatest apprehensions expressed by the parliamentarians concerned the filling of federal jobs in their localities and the way in which the bureaucracy used its discretionary power in making appointments. We were informed that the divisive element in New Brunswick was not bilingualism itself but the way in which it had been implemented on occasion by the public service.

410. Having discussed the problems with us intensively and at considerable length, the two groups of members gave us their conclusions. Despite whatever reservations they had expressed as individuals, each group finally favoured a recommendation designating the entire province of New Brunswick as a bilingual district. One group attached to this advice the proviso that it would not be in favour of this recommendation if it were to result in the requirement of bilingual services in the smaller federal offices located in the predominantly English-speaking areas of the province.

Consultations with Other Officials

411. We received the same opinion favouring the whole of New Brunswick as a bilingual district from the other public officials whom we consulted in the prov-

ince. The two representatives in Fredericton expressed the view that their city should be included within a federal bilingual district and that the entire province should be recommended as a bilingual district. One of them remarked that it would be inconceivable if the capital of New Brunswick were not included in a federal bilingual district when the province has an official language statute providing for bilingualism. It was noted that the French mother tongue population of Fredericton had increased greatly during the decade from 1961 to 1971, growing from 749 to 1,445 persons, that is from 3.8 to 6.0 per cent. The school board had established French language elementary and secondary schools which were undoubtedly essential if the breadwinners of French-speaking families were to be attracted to employment in the provincial civil service in the capital.

Position of the Provincial Government

412. The government of New Brunswick also supported the recommendation that the whole province be a bilingual district. Although the government was well aware of the problems implicit in such a proposal and concerned by them, its spokesman said that the government had not altered its original opinion. It still felt that it was preferable to recommend the entire province rather than portions of it. The provincial government, moreover, was disturbed by the length of time that had elapsed without the federal government yet having proclaimed a bilingual district in New Brunswick.

413. The spokesman for the government believed that it was essential to make it very clear to the public that the declaration of a federal bilingual district for the province did not mean that every federal civil service position had to be filled by an individual who was bilingual or that every federal civil servant had to be bilingual. English-speaking residents needed to be reassured that there were still opportunities for their employment in the federal public service.

414. New Brunswick's representative also expressed the same admonition as that enunciated by several members of Parliament, namely that federal administrators should exercise great common sense and good judgement in utilizing bilingual criteria in the employment and promotion of civil servants, particularly in unilingual English-speaking areas of the province. He added that the provincial government had reduced the number of grievances on this score by refraining from categorizing positions as bilingual or non-bilingual and by attempting instead to provide bilingual services when the need for them occurred.

Summary of Salient Points

415. Reviewing the evidence and the advice we had received, a majority of the Board believed that the following points were salient.

416. It was clear that the province of New Brunswick was unique. First, it had the largest percentage of an official language mother-tongue minority of any province in Canada. Second, the proportionate figure for the minority was very substantial, accounting for 34.0 per cent of the total population in 1971. This figure was considerably more than twice as great as the percentage of the official language minority in any other province in Canada. In number it amounted to the significant figure of 215,730 individuals. Third, New Brunswick was unique because it was the only province which had an official languages act establishing English and French as the official languages of the province. This statute had been passed unanimously by the legislature of the province in 1969 and during the ensuing years it has been in effect it has been endorsed and supported as the cornerstone of bilingualism by governments representing each of the two major political parties in New Brunswick. Since the provincial act applies to the entire province, the Board did not see how it could recommend less for the federal government to do under its official languages act than the provincial government has done under its legislation.

417. We were influenced also by several additional considerations. Most of the members of the Board were not convinced that any of the alternative suggestions offered for creating bilingual districts within New Brunswick was, on balance, as satisfactory as the recommendation of the entire province as a bilingual district. The fundamental weaknesses in the other proposals were that they would omit a substantial number of the minority from inclusion in a bilingual district and that they would likewise exclude from a bilingual district the provincial capital of Fredericton and the principal industrial and commercial city of St. John. Each of these cities serves a large number of members of the minority who live in other parts of the province as well as those who reside in St. John and Fredericton.

418. The Board was also greatly impressed by the opinions it received from the elected representatives of the public whom it consulted. Some had no hesitation in recommending that the entire province should be a bilingual district, but even those who initially had some reservations gave the same advice ultimately. Thus, the municipal officials whom we met, the provincial government, and both party caucuses representing all of the federal members of Parliament from New Brunswick

were in agreement that the whole province should be recommended as a bilingual district.

Recommendation

419. **A majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district for the entire province of New Brunswick, composed of all the census divisions in the province.**

Note in regard to Large Urban Centres and the Provincial Capital

420. Although there were in 1971 in New Brunswick several large urban centres which had at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was French, it is not necessary for the Board to propose

that they be provided with bilingual federal services under our first supplementary recommendation. They will be supplied with bilingual federal services because they are located within a recommended bilingual district, which in this case is the entire province.

421. For the same reason, the Board need not propose that the provincial capital of Fredericton be furnished with bilingual federal services under our second supplementary recommendation. However, for the sake of clarity and comparability, we shall provide in Part III of our report a geostatistical description and map of the designated area, which is the census agglomeration of Fredericton.¹⁰ In 1971 the census agglomeration of Fredericton had 1,050 persons, amounting to 2.8 per cent, whose language most often spoken at home was French.

¹⁰ *Infra*, Part III, pp. 196-197.

Quebec

Introduction

422. The French presence has been an integral part of Canada for more than four hundred years. Although France was not the first European nation to discover Canada, it was the first to explore the interior and to settle the mainland successfully, planting enduring roots in Quebec in particular.

423. In 1534 the French explorer Jacques Cartier made a landfall on Gaspé Peninsula, claiming the territory in the name of the king of France. The following year he sailed up the St. Lawrence River, visiting the Indian villages of Stadacona and Hochelaga, the sites of the present cities of Quebec and Montreal.

424. In 1608, after attempts to establish settlements on the east coast had ended in failure, Samuel de Champlain founded the city of Quebec, the first permanent colony on the mainland of Canada. Moving further up the St. Lawrence River, the French subsequently established Trois-Rivières in 1634 and Ville-Marie, the future Montreal, in 1642.

425. Despite New France's modest beginning and the appalling hardships of pioneer life (only eight of Champlain's tiny company of 28 persons survived the first devastating winter in Quebec), the French colony persisted. Although growth was painfully slow at first, the St. Lawrence settlement gained momentum in the eighteenth century. By 1760, when it passed into British hands, the French population had increased to a total of about 60,000. The settlers exhibited a remarkable linguistic and cultural homogeneity. They were entirely French-speaking and close-knit since the bulk of them had come from three particular regions in France: Normandy, Brittany, and the Ile-de-France.

426. The outcome of the battle on the Plains of Abraham in 1759 and the cession of Canada to Britain by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 did not change the basic character of Quebec, which remained French.

427. The military government from 1760 to 1763 maintained French administrative districts and French

private law as well as the rendering of justice by French militia officers in their own language. Military ordinances were issued in French or in French and English. Freedom of Roman Catholic worship and property rights under French civil law continued to be recognized. An ordinance in 1766 allowed French-Canadian lawyers to practise in all courts and sanctioned both French and English juries. Five years later the French seigneurial system of land tenure was reconfirmed.

428. Subsequent constitutional legislation also accepted the French fact and cultural duality. The Quebec Act of 1774 formally re-established both French law in regard to property and civil rights and the freedom of Roman Catholics to practise their religion. They were also permitted to stand for public office, an opportunity not yet granted to Roman Catholics in Britain. In addition, the Act created a legislative council whose records were kept in both French and English and whose decrees were published in similar fashion. Both languages were employed also in the judicial system which emerged from the statute.

429. When the Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the colony into Upper and Lower Canada, the predecessors to Ontario and Quebec, all subjects, whether French or English, became eligible for the appointive legislative council and the elective assembly in each jurisdiction. In Lower Canada the assembly at once adopted the practice of permitting bills and motions to be proposed in either language, to be translated into the other language, and to be read in both languages.

430. The rebellion of 1837 and 1838 led to a setback for bilingualism, but it proved to be temporary. Despatched to investigate the discord, the new governor general, Lord Durham, recommended in his *Report on the Affairs of British North America* that Upper and Lower Canada be joined together so that the English-speaking element might absorb the French. When the British government implemented his Report by passing the Act of Union in 1840, amalgamating Upper and Lower Canada, English was made the sole official

language of the new Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council. However, the new legislature in the combined province decided almost immediately to translate Canadian and British statutes into French, to keep its journals in French as well as in English and to have all motions in the House read in both languages before they were debated.

431. In 1849 the governor general, Lord Engin, read the Speech from the Throne in French and English. This symbolic recognition of the equality of the two languages was soon converted into an official fact. The vice-regal authority adopted the practice of using both languages to give assent to legislative bills and the French versions of statutes were elevated from the status of translations to a position of parity with the English texts. Thus, the United Province of Canada became officially bilingual nearly two decades before the British North America Act was passed.

432. When the B.N.A. Act brought the new confederation of Canada into being in 1867, French and English were accorded official recognition in both houses of the central Parliament and in both chambers of the legislature in Quebec as well as in all federal and Quebec courts. These bilingual provisions were authorized by Section 133 of the B. N. A. Act which reads as follows:

Either the English or French language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec.

The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those Languages.

433. Quebec's dual language regime was not entirely unique among the provinces. Manitoba and the Northwest Territories were officially bilingual at one time, but the periods were relatively brief, in Manitoba from 1870 to 1890 and in the Territories from 1877 to 1892. Although the predominantly English-speaking provinces have accorded varying degrees of recognition to the French language since 1867, Section 133 has never been amended to confer on the minority French language in nine provinces the benefits enjoyed by the minority English language in Quebec.

434. A somewhat similar discrepancy has been apparent in the educational opportunities afforded to the English minority in Quebec and the French minority

in other provinces. Section 93 of the British North America Act assigned control of education to the provinces but provided protection to the minority denominational schools which existed at the time of Confederation or were created thereafter by the legislature of a province. The safeguard applied, therefore, to schools having a religious character rather than to education given in the minority tongue. In Quebec there was little distinction since the minority educational facilities which were protected were Protestant and the Protestants were almost exclusively English-speaking. Thus, the effect of guaranteeing the existence of Protestant schools in Quebec was to ensure continuation of English language instruction for the minority in that province.

435. In Ontario, however, and in the other provinces in which denominational or "separate" schools existed, the minority concerned was Roman Catholic, and since not all Roman Catholics in these jurisdictions were French-speaking, French language instruction was not assured. In fact, the preponderance of separate schools in these provinces have been English-speaking, reflecting the language affiliation of their Roman Catholic members. Consequently, the French language minorities in nine provinces have not derived from Section 93 the educational advantages that the English language minority in Quebec has acquired from the same section of the B.N.A. Act.

436. Two additional factors have adversely affected the position of the French language, even in Quebec. The first arose from two historical events which happened to occur in close succession: the acquisition of Canada by Britain in 1763 and the loss by Britain of her American colonies in 1783. Following the American Revolution, tens of thousands of United Empire Loyalists who wished to continue to live under the British crown rather than to dwell in the new republic moved to Canada, which had recently become British.

437. Although most of the Loyalists settled in the Maritimes and Upper Canada, some four to five thousand took up residence in Lower Canada. They augmented the number of English-speaking immigrants who had arrived from the British Isles in the wake of the transfer of power in 1763. Within a few years the English-speaking minority in Lower Canada increased so rapidly that Anglophones constituted from ten to fifteen per cent of the total population.

438. More significant than their percentage was the influential position which the Anglophones came to occupy in Quebec's society. Many of the English-

speaking newcomers, particularly in Montreal, entered into business, industry, and finance, in which they flourished. Their success in these fields laid the foundation of a prosperous, strong, and vigorous English-speaking community which soon created important educational, ecclesiastical, medical, and social institutions and welfare services in the English language. Members of this group also became prominent in a number of professions, such as the law, and influential in politics.

439. The minority in Quebec had the added advantage of being linked by language to the majority in the rest of Canada, which was overwhelmingly English-speaking. This connection enabled Quebec's Anglophones to participate readily, when they wished, in nation-wide public, political, and business activities. Benefitting from this advantage, Montreal's English-speaking financial and business community integrated easily into the Canadian economy, soon becoming one of its most powerful components. This position of strength was reinforced by the protection the English language possessed internally in Quebec. As a result of these factors, many Anglophones, especially in Montreal, identified psychologically with the majority in the country, rather than looking upon themselves as a minority in Quebec.

440. For all of these reasons, English became the prevailing language in a number of the more elevated and most important sectors of industry, trade and finance, and in some social institutions in the province, especially in Montreal, which is Quebec's major economic artery. Finally, since English was the language of much of management, it tended to penetrate the labour force. Thus English became the language of work for many employees, including often those whose mother tongue was French.

441. In contrast, the position of the French language in Quebec has been quite different. Although French has consistently been the mother tongue of a very large majority of the province's population, the language has been under continual pressure. The boundaries of the French language do not conform to the boundaries of the province. In 1971 there were more than 900,000 Canadians of French mother tongue living outside of Quebec while within the province 13.1 per cent of the population was of English mother tongue and an additional 6.2 per cent of mother tongue other than French or English. In Canada as a whole French has been continually in a minority position. More significantly, French has been situated within a massively English-speaking North American continent. Since the popula-

tion of the United States is so large and overwhelmingly English-speaking, the ratio of Anglophones to Francophones in North America is approximately 40 to one. In 1971 there were 4,867,250 persons of French mother tongue in Quebec but they amounted to less than 23 per cent of the Canadian population and less than 2.4 per cent of the population of the United States.

442. The presence of approximately 225,000,000 English-speaking persons in North America guaranteed the continuation of the English language in Canada and permitted English-speaking Canadians to communicate easily and to move freely throughout almost the entire continent.

443. But the same factor had just the opposite effects upon the French language and Francophones. The huge disproportion and solidarity of English limited the scope for French and the mobility of those who spoke it. The latter constraint has been especially onerous for unilingual Francophones, who constitute a larger proportion of Quebec's population than is generally appreciated. In 1971 about 75 per cent of French mother tongue persons in Quebec were unilingual.

444. In a polity which uses more than one language, the weight of learning an additional language usually falls more heavily on those whose mother tongue is in the minority. Thus, it is not surprising that in Canada the percentage of Canadians of French mother tongue who have acquired English is much greater than the percentage of English mother-tongue persons who have learned French. The ratio is in the order of six to one.

445. While it is probably not accurate to say that the extent of bilingualism among the minority is an indication of the degree to which it is being assimilated to the majority, it is obviously true that the greater the degree of bilingualism among a minority, the more prone the minority is to being absorbed into the majority. If so, the threat to the survival of the French language in Canada would appear to be greater in areas outside of Quebec than within the province. The reasons are twofold. First, the percentage of French mother tongue persons who also speak English is more substantial in the portion of Canada beyond Quebec than within the province. Second, Quebec is the French bastion in Canada since 84 per cent of all Canadians of French mother tongue reside within that province.

446. However, even fortresses can be threatened. More than half of all the Canadians who spoke both English and French in 1971, 57.4 per cent to be precise, lived in Quebec. Although the percentage of

Quebec residents of English mother tongue who could speak French was greater than the proportion of residents of French mother tongue who could speak English—36.7 per cent in contrast to 25.7 per cent—the number of French mother tongue persons in Quebec who could speak English was very large, amounting to 1,250,640 individuals in 1971.

447. In addition, there were in Quebec in that year 133,425 persons of a mother tongue other than English or French who could speak English only. If the number of persons of French mother tongue and other mother tongue who could speak English is added to the total of persons of English mother tongue, there were in Quebec in 1971, about 2,296,300 persons who were capable of speaking English. Since this figure amounted to 38.1 per cent of the total population of the province, there was some considerable challenge to French in its base in Quebec.

448. In addition to experiencing these constraints, French has been subjected to positive encroachment by English, stemming from English Canada and in particular from the United States. In recent years American culture has permeated the world. "The American Way of Life" has stamped its impression upon almost every aspect of contemporary society, ranging from fashions in food and dress to the technology of business and labour, and even to habits of mind. While all Canadians have been affected by this influence, the impact of American culture, couched as it is in English, has been particularly debilitating to French. Transmitted by the mass media—television, radio, films, and popular literature—North American English-language culture has penetrated Quebec to an unprecedented degree in the past few decades.

449. This invasion of French by English has been augmented by social developments which have not been peculiar to Quebec but which have had particular consequences to that province. In company with most of Canada and many parts of the world, Quebec has undergone recently a rapid growth in industrialization and urbanization. These twin forces are so powerful that they tend to transform societies. Their repercussions have been especially unsettling in Quebec because the changes have occurred swiftly in a province which has had deeply rooted traditions and long-established patterns of life. The "Quiet Revolution" in Quebec, which was both a manifestation of these modern forces and an attempt to cope with them, commenced in the early nineteen-sixties, less than fifteen years ago. Its ramifications, therefore, have created a genuine cultural shock which has been all

the more severe because its waves have touched almost every aspect of Quebec's society, including the existence of the French language.

450. Since the period of rapid social change has coincided with the mounting influence of the continent's English language culture, French has been put under a double bind. Urbanization and industrialization have drawn Francophones out of smaller, cohesive French-speaking communities into larger aggregations of population and into industrial and commercial employment where they have been more exposed to English during a period in which English-language culture has been waxing.

451. Montreal is a prime example of the trend. In 1961 the census metropolitan area of Montreal had a population amounting to 2,109,509. By 1971 the population designated by the same title had grown to 2,743,255, constituting an increase of 30.0 per cent. Since the census metropolitan area of Montreal had increased in extent as well as in population, the changes are a good illustration of the pace of urbanization. Two additional points are even more significant. The first relates to the consolidation of population; the second to the trend in language use.

452. In 1961 the residents of the census metropolitan area of Montreal were not integrated. The area consisted of 83 separate and dispersed municipal corporations which had no common identity or collective existence. By 1971 a portion of the area had been consolidated into the Montreal Urban Community, which was inaugurated on January 1, 1970. Although a number of individual municipal corporations remained, their residents had been drawn together into a metropolitan unit of government that contained a compact population centred in the island of Montreal.

453. The language pattern of Montreal also seemed to undergo change. Many observers have expressed the opinion that in recent years English has become more prevalent than it was previously. They have attributed the increased popular use of English to a number of factors. In addition to those already noted—urbanization, industrialization, and the impact of English-language culture—the forces included the effect of immigration. Newcomers to Quebec have been attracted to Montreal where they have been inclined to join the English stream rather than the French-language community. One illustration of this disposition is the fact that the new arrivals have tended to send a much larger proportion of their children to English schools than to French schools.

454. These developments have given rise to the apprehension that if English gains ground at the expense of French in Montreal, the French language will be placed in jeopardy in Montreal and possibly in Quebec. Since the census metropolitan area of Montreal accounts for nearly half of the total population of Quebec—45.5 per cent in 1971, to be precise—whatever language pattern emerges in Montreal is likely to have profound consequences for the entire province. This probability is increased by the functional importance of the Montreal region as the economic heart of Quebec. It is clear that if the public use of English increases in Montreal, the future of French in the metropolis and the province may well be more than a theoretical question.

455. Confronted by the invidious position in which French found itself because of the developments which have been described, the National Assembly in Quebec enacted in July 1974 a statute which seeks to further the use of French in Quebec. The Official Language Act, still often referred to by its previous title, Bill 22, makes French the official language of the province. To substantiate this status, the Act requires that French be used as the ordinary language of communication in governmental administration, public utilities, professional organizations, business activities, labour relations, and in municipal and educational institutions. Nevertheless, the Act continues to respect the existence of English-language schools and it does not exclude the use of English in certain other circumstances. Sometimes English may be used as an alternative to French, for instance, when an individual chooses to employ it to address the public service. On other occasions it must be used in company with French; for example, municipal and school bodies serving populations that are at least ten per cent English-speaking must draw up their documents in both English and French.

456. Quebec's Official Language Act is an attempt to ensure that French remains viable in the one province in Canada in which it is the majority language. Since Quebec is the core of French-speaking Canada, the preservation of the language in that province is of concern to Francophones not only in Quebec but in the other provinces as well. This concern is shared by many English-speaking Canadians also.

457. The language issue is a sensitive and delicate matter in Quebec. It is unique within Canada. On the one hand, there is in the province a large French-speaking population of nearly five million persons who by mother tongue constituted a preponderant majority of 80.7 per cent in 1971. But because of all the circumstances described previously, many members of

this numerical majority feel that they occupy functionally the position of a minority in their own heartland. Their sense of grievance has been deepened by anxiety recently as the pressures upon the French language have mounted. Perceiving Canada as a composite of nine predominantly English-speaking provinces and one preponderantly French-speaking province, they believe that the balance is already overweighted in favour of English and that it will be destroyed entirely if Quebec is treated as a bilingual province rather than a unilingual French province. For all these reasons, they conclude that it is the French language which needs protection in Quebec rather than English.

458. On the other hand, it is possible to see the situation from a different perspective. The Anglophones in Quebec constitute a sizable minority, amounting by mother tongue to 789,185 persons in 1971, or 13.1 per cent of the total population. Many Anglophones are deeply attached to Quebec and believe that they are as legitimate members of the province as Francophones. Being accustomed to the widespread use of their language, they assume that the province is bilingual. They deem that recent developments in provincial language policy alter that convention at considerable cost to English. Consequently, they conclude that English needs to be protected in Quebec.

459. It should be noted that the federal provisions for the protection of English in Quebec remain. Section 93 of the British North America Act still guarantees the existence of denominational schools, which in Quebec are tantamount to English-speaking schools. Section 133 of the same statute continues to sanction the use of English in Quebec's legislature as well as in all federal courts and in all provincial courts in Quebec. Furthermore, since Parliament's Official Languages Act provides for federal governmental services under prescribed conditions to minority official language groups throughout the country, Anglophones in Quebec can receive federal services in English.

460. The issue to be resolved in Quebec is how to balance the various factors which are relevant to that province in order to achieve a satisfactory solution to the language problem. The task is not easy since it is necessary to try to achieve four objectives simultaneously: to reassure the province's English-speaking minority, to satisfy the French-speaking majority, and to avoid contradiction with provincial policy while observing the precepts for the country at large.

461. Contrary to the impression acquired in some quarters, federal legislation and the provincial Official Language Act are not incompatible. Ottawa's Official

Languages Act does not impose any obligation upon the government of Quebec or its residents since the bilingual requirements entailed in the Act fall solely upon the federal government and its agencies. At the same time, the clauses in Quebec's Official Language Act dealing, for example, with the province's English-language schools are not necessarily at variance with the provision for denominational schools contained in Section 93 of the British North America Act. In addition, there are sections in the Quebec statute which provide for the use of English as well as French in municipal and educational bodies serving populations that have specific percentages of English-speaking individuals. These prescriptions for the employment of both English and French in certain instances within the provincial sector could be compared to the provisions laid down by Ottawa's Official Languages Act for the use of both languages in federal administration under somewhat similar circumstances.

462. Although the arrangements established for the use of the two languages in the provincial and federal jurisdictions are not identical, there is a measure of correspondence that does not appear to have been sufficiently recognized. If the common ground was appreciated, and if the provincial Act and the federal Act in company with the British North America Act were regarded as complementary rather than as inconsistent, there might be less apprehension in several quarters. It is also conceivable that if the federal government and the provincial government pursued this approach, it might be possible to arrive at an accommodation which would be more satisfactory to all concerned.

463. The present Bilingual Districts Advisory Board kept all of these factors in mind when we studied the question of recommending bilingual districts in the province of Quebec.

Three Possible Options

464. When the Board considered the question of recommending bilingual districts in Quebec, we believed that there were three possible options. First, we could consider recommending the entire province as one bilingual district; second, we could decide not to recommend any bilingual districts in Quebec; or third, we could propose a certain number of bilingual districts and recommend in supplementary form some additional measures which would provide suitable arrangements.

465. We will review each of these options in turn, indicating the factors that appeared to us to be relevant when considering the adoption or rejection of the

particular possibility. Bearing in mind the problems associated with the issue of language in Quebec which have been discussed in the Introduction to this chapter as well as in Part I of our report,¹¹ the Board concluded that only one of these options was feasible.

(1) One Bilingual District for the Entire Province

466. It was possible to consider recommending the entire province as one bilingual district since in 1971 Quebec had an English-speaking minority which by mother tongue amounted to 13.1 per cent of the total population of the province. This proportion exceeded the minimum percentage set down in the Act for a bilingual district, namely, an official language minority amounting by mother tongue to at least ten per cent of the total population. Moreover, since the aggregate of the minority was so large, amounting in 1971 to 789,185 persons of English mother tongue, this option might seem to be feasible.

467. However, a number of considerations deterred the Board from making this recommendation. First, since the English-speaking population was not distributed evenly throughout the province but on the contrary was concentrated in some portions, there were vast areas in Quebec constituting almost all of the province in which the French mother-tongue population was overwhelming.

468. The dimensions of this prevalence of the French majority can be gathered by examining the statistics of the official language mother tongue populations in the counties which comprised Quebec in 1971. Of the 74 counties, which compare to census divisions in some other provinces, 17 had populations that were more than 99 per cent of French mother tongue. Another 26 counties had populations which were from 95 to 99 per cent of French mother tongue. An additional seven counties had French mother tongue aggregations varying from 90 to 95 per cent of the respective total population. Thus 50 counties, or more than two-thirds of the counties in Quebec, had populations in which persons of French mother tongue accounted for more than 90 per cent of the residents in the region. Moreover, many of the census subdivisions in these counties had populations which were 100 per cent of French mother tongue.

469. Conversely, there were only 20 of Quebec's 74 counties which had English mother tongue minorities

¹¹ For the reasoning of the Board on this subject, see *supra*, Part II, Introduction to Quebec, pp. 69-74, and Part I, paragraphs 103-104, pp. 17-18, and paragraphs 216-242, pp. 33-36.

amounting to as least ten per cent of the respective population. In only two counties did the English mother tongue population exceed 50 per cent of the total, the maximum being 56.9 per cent. Moreover, in many of these 20 counties there were census subdivisions in which the French mother tongue group amounted to nearly 100 per cent.

470. Thus it was apparent to the Board that most of the counties in Quebec had such an overwhelming percentage of French mother tongue persons that the localities were virtually unilingual. As such, they would have little need for bilingual services. Consequently, there would be little point to recommending a bilingual district encompassing the entire province.

471. Second, it did not seem wise to the Board to add to the pressures upon the French language, which have already been described, by recommending that the whole of Quebec be a bilingual district. We were conscious that if we were to make a recommendation that put added pressure upon the French language in the one province out of ten in which French-speaking Canadians had a majority, it would add to the disparity which has existed between the two official languages in Canada. We believed that this disparity was already sufficiently serious that we should not increase it. This reflection had been one of the factors which had led us to appreciate that, when recommending bilingual districts, it might not be wise to apply the same criteria in all parts of Canada.

472. Third, another consideration that had led us in the same direction was the realisation that federal services had not been provided in the past to the same extent to the members of the two official language minorities throughout Canada. Our visits had revealed to us that English-language minorities in Quebec had been accustomed to receive federal services in their own language in the past while federal services had not always been provided as amply to French-speaking minorities outside of Quebec. Bearing this point in mind and recognizing that Section 13(2) of the Official Languages Act does not require a Board to recommend a bilingual district in every area in which the minority amounts by mother tongue to at least ten per cent of the total population, we believed that it was not necessary or advisable to recommend the entire province of Quebec as a bilingual district, even though the official language minority in the province exceeded ten per cent.

473. Fourth, although it could be argued that another clause in the Official Languages Act, Section 13(3), strengthened the case for recommending the whole of Quebec as a bilingual district, a majority of the Board

decided that we should not avail ourselves of this clause in Quebec or elsewhere in Canada. Section 13(3) permits a Board to recommend a district where the mother tongue minority population is less than ten per cent but where federal services have been provided customarily in both official languages. Since English-speaking residents of Quebec have traditionally been supplied with federal services in their own language, Section 13(3) might have been utilized to justify the creation of bilingual districts in areas where the minority amounted to even less than ten per cent. If this approach had been adopted, there might have been so many small districts recommended in Quebec that it would have been more practical to recommend the entire province as one bilingual district.

474. However, a majority of the Board concluded that it was unnecessary to use Section 13(3) in Quebec because it appeared to us to be unlikely that the federal government in any circumstance would discontinue providing to the minority in Quebec the services in English which it had supplied in the past.

475. A majority of the Board also believed that it would be inequitable to apply Section 13(3) in Quebec since the clause could not be utilized to the same extent to provide services to French-speaking minorities elsewhere in Canada. Inasmuch as our findings had revealed that French minorities had not been furnished as adequately in the past with federal services in their language as the English minority in Quebec had received in its language, we thought that the use of Section 13(3) in Quebec would only increase the discrepancy in the provision of services in its own language to each of the two minorities. We therefore decided not to use Section 13(3) to recommend bilingual districts anywhere in Canada.

476. Fifth, it has often been suggested that in its language composition Quebec bears a resemblance to New Brunswick. Consequently, it has been argued that if New Brunswick were recommended as one bilingual district, it would be appropriate to recommend that the whole of Quebec be a bilingual district. However, this line of reasoning overlooks the fact that in its distribution of official languages Quebec resembles Ontario more closely than New Brunswick. In 1971 the official language minority by mother tongue amounted in Quebec to 13.1 per cent, in Ontario to 6.3 per cent, and in New Brunswick to 34.0 per cent. Thus, the resemblance between the official language minorities was greater in the case of Quebec and Ontario than in the case of Quebec and New Brunswick.

477. The similarity between Quebec and Ontario rather than between Quebec and New Brunswick was confirmed when we compared the percentages of each province's counties which have the minimal minority requirement for a bilingual district. In 1971 only 20 of Quebec's 74 counties, or 27 per cent, had an English mother tongue minority amounting to at least ten per cent of the local population. In Ontario only 10 of the province's 54 census divisions, or 18.5 per cent, had a French mother tongue minority amounting to ten per cent. In New Brunswick, on the other hand, seven of the 15 counties, or 46.6 per cent, had a French mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent. Thus, at the more finite level of counties, the distribution of the official language minority in Quebec resembled the distribution of the minority in Ontario much more closely than it resembled the pattern in New Brunswick.

478. Finally, we were well aware that the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board had recommended that the whole of Quebec be included in one bilingual district. However, we were also well aware that this particular recommendation was not favourably received in a number of quarters. We appreciated the sentiments that provoked the adverse reactions and we could understand the logic that lay behind them.

479. For all of these reasons the Board decided not to recommend one bilingual district for the entire province.

(2) No Bilingual Districts in Quebec

480. At the opposite extreme it was possible for the Board to consider not recommending any bilingual districts within the province of Quebec. Since federal services seemed to have been available in English to the minority in Quebec customarily in the past, it might well have been asked what necessity there was for the creation of bilingual districts. If the *status quo* performed the function that bilingual districts were intended to fulfil, there might be very little need to alter it. Moreover, in view of the opposition expressed towards bilingual districts by several elements in Quebec, including the provincial government, the establishment of districts might lead to greater vexations than improved services. If so, the disadvantages to residents, including the minority, might outweigh any advantages to be gained from the proclamation of districts.

481. However, we had encountered a similar antipathy to bilingual districts in certain other places in

Canada without allowing it to deter us from recommending districts where we believed that they might be useful to the minority. We believed that we should follow the same principle in recommending districts in Quebec.

482. Thus we decided that we should recommend bilingual districts in Quebec where a district would afford the minority some additional advantage, such as strengthening the minority by giving it tangible recognition and a sense of cohesion.¹² The adoption of these criteria to determine bilingual districts in Quebec would be consistent with our recognition of the importance of these factors when recommending bilingual districts elsewhere in Canada. We would be providing assistance to English-speaking groups in Quebec whose vulnerability was comparable to that of French-speaking minorities outside of the province.

483. For this reason, the Board agreed unanimously that we should not endorse the second option of declining to recommend any bilingual districts in the province of Quebec.

(3) Some Bilingual Districts in Quebec

484. In attempting to determine which areas in Quebec might be recommended as bilingual districts, we examined the locations and circumstances of the English mother tongue groups in the province. We noted that the bulk of the English-speaking minority was situated in the southern tip of the province, particularly in the vicinity of Montreal.

485. In 1971 nearly three-quarters of the English mother tongue population in Quebec resided in the census metropolitan area of Montreal. In addition, there was a substantial number of persons of English mother tongue in the adjacent areas extending south and east through the Eastern Townships towards the American border and west along the Ottawa River to the western limit of Pontiac county. If the number of persons of English mother tongue in these areas were added to the number of the same group in the census metropolitan area of Montreal, the total in the region would have accounted for about nine-tenths of the minority in Quebec in 1971. With the exception of some concentrations, notably in the vicinity of Quebec City, Bonaventure—Gaspé-Est, and on the lower north shore of the St. Lawrence River, the remainder of the English mother tongue population in Quebec was dispersed for the most part in quite small groups.

¹² For an elaboration of the Board's reasoning on this point, see *supra*, Part I, paragraphs 111-113, p. 19.

486. From this review we concluded that the English minority in Quebec could be divided into two geographical groups: an urban population concentrated in the census metropolitan area of Montreal, and a population located in some areas adjacent to Montreal and in several outlying regions of the province.

487. The latter population seemed to us to be in a position rather similar to that of the French-speaking minority in other areas in Canada in which we were prepared to recommend bilingual districts. The residents were less concentrated and perhaps more in need of the type of legal protection that a bilingual district might afford. As we have noted previously, we also believed that the creation of a bilingual district might assist such isolated minority groups by providing them with a sense of cohesion and a symbol of their existence. We could not see that the same arguments applied to the very sizable minority population in the metropolitan area of Montreal. In this area the minority, which by mother tongue numbered more than half a million in 1971, was strong, compact, and forceful. Moreover, so far as we had been able to ascertain, the minority in this area had always received adequate services from the federal government in its own language.

488. After lengthy discussion, a majority of the Board decided that we should adopt the distinction between the position and needs of the two different kinds of minority groups in Quebec as a basis for recommending bilingual districts in the province. In our recommendations which follow, we shall propose, therefore, five bilingual districts, each of which in 1971 was rather large geographically, contained a sizable number of persons of English mother tongue amounting to the required minimum of ten per cent, and was located in a predominantly rural or outlying region of Quebec. For the census metropolitan areas of Montreal and Quebec and the census agglomeration of Sherbrooke which in 1971 were the three principal urban centres in Quebec that had a large number of English-speaking persons, we shall propose other arrangements that will be explained after we have presented our specific recommendations for bilingual districts in Quebec.

489. Before describing the recommended bilingual districts, it is necessary to comment upon the localities in Quebec which qualified as bilingual districts but which will not be proposed as districts or will not be included within the areas for which we shall suggest special arrangements.

Eligible Areas Not Recommended as Bilingual Districts

490. The bilingual districts and the areas served by other arrangements which we have mentioned summarily in paragraph 488 and which will be elaborated upon below include most of the counties and census subdivisions in Quebec which had an English mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent in 1971. There were in addition, however, a number of census subdivisions which had a sufficient percentage of the minority to make them eligible as bilingual districts but which will not be included within the proposed bilingual districts or supplementary arrangements. The reasons for omitting these areas can be presented most conveniently by grouping the excluded census subdivisions into four categories.

(1) Localities within the National Capital Region

491. A number of the census subdivisions in question could not be included because they were situated within the National Capital Region. Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act requires the federal government and its agencies to provide their services to the public in both English and French within the National Capital Region independently of any action by a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board. Thus it was neither possible nor necessary for our Board to make recommendations in regard to the census subdivisions located within the National Capital Region.

492. The relevant subdivisions in Quebec were parts of four counties situated on the north bank of the Ottawa River: namely, Papineau, Gatineau, Hull, and Pontiac. Although the following list is not exhaustive but merely illustrative of the locations which had larger numbers of the minority, the census subdivisions contained within this area in the National Capital Region included Buckingham, the western part of Hull, Lucerne, Touraine, Aylmer, Gatineau, Onslow, and Quyon.

493. Not only did these localities contain some of the most numerous English mother tongue groups omitted from our arrangements but these census subdivisions, together with the other portions of the National Capital Region in Quebec which we have not enumerated here, accounted for approximately 26,000 persons of English mother tongue. Thus about half of the minority residing in the census subdivisions not furnished with services in their own language by our recommendations were provided with such services in

any case by virtue of Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act.

(2) Very Small Dispersed Localities

494. About three dozen census subdivisions which each had a minority population amounting to at least ten per cent were omitted from our recommendations because in 1971 the total of the minority in each of them varied from 10 persons to a maximum of 435. Since the numbers of the minority were so small and since the areas were so dispersed that there was seldom any possibility of combining any of the locations or joining them to other concentrations of the minority, and since in any case there would be very few federal services situated in such areas, we had no hesitation in omitting them from our recommendations.

(3) Small Localities Which Could Be Combined

495. In 1971 there were an additional 20 census subdivisions in Quebec which each had an English mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent but in each of which the number of the minority was small. By combining some of them, it might have been possible to create four groups of the minority which were more plausible as bilingual districts or parts of districts. The four areas were located in the counties of Montcalm, Terrebonne, Richmond, and Drummond.

(a) Rawdon

496. In Montcalm the rural census subdivision of Rawdon and the village of Rawdon might have been combined to form an area which in 1971 had an English mother tongue population amounting to about 26 per cent, but the aggregate of the minority totalled only 1,070 persons. The area also appeared to have very few federal services. Since the locality was situated about 25 miles north of the census metropolitan area of Montreal, it seemed likely that the residents would obtain most of their federal services in Montreal, for which we were recommending the provision of services by other means. Because the English mother tongue populations were very meagre in the census subdivisions located between the Rawdon area and the census metropolitan area of Montreal on the one hand and between Rawdon and the English concentrations to the west in Terrebonne, we did not believe that it was feasible to try to join the Rawdon area either to Montreal or to the relevant localities in Terrebonne. In view of these factors and the limited size of the

English mother tongue group in the Rawdon area, the Board decided unanimously not to recommend the Rawdon area as a bilingual district.

(b) Terrebonne

497. In 1971 in the county of Terrebonne, which extends north and west from the census metropolitan area of Montreal, there were 14 census subdivisions which had an English mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent. However, the two census subdivisions which had the largest number of persons of English mother tongue, namely Lorraine and Rosemère, were part of the census metropolitan area of Montreal for which we were recommending the provision of federal services in English by other means. Thus, the 4,600 members of the minority in these two subdivisions would be included within the arrangements for Montreal.

498. The English mother tongue populations in the remaining 12 census subdivisions in Terrebonne were very small, ranging from five persons to 500. Although their sum was 2,015, the 12 subdivisions did not form a continuous area since some of them were separated by intervening subdivisions which had very small numbers of the minority amounting to less than ten per cent of the local population. Thus, it was implausible, if not impossible, to recommend the establishment of a separate bilingual district.

499. However, some members of the Board believed that some of the subdivisions, for example, Ste-Adèle, Ste-Anne-des-Lacs, and St-Sauveur, which were adjacent to the bilingual district that we were proposing in Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes, might be attached to that bilingual district. Some other members of the Board were not in favour of this arrangement. They believed that the number of the minority who would thus be included would not be large, that there were few federal services in these localities, and that most residents would obtain their federal services in Montreal. They also were persuaded that since the region was characterized by recreational activities and resorts, the residents were less permanent than in most locations elsewhere. After some discussion, a majority of the Board decided not to recommend the attachment of any of these census subdivisions to the bilingual district in Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes.

(c) Richmond

500. A third group of small census subdivisions which in 1971 had an English mother tongue minority amount-

ing to at least ten per cent and which might have been combined into a bilingual district or attached to another bilingual district was located in Richmond county.

501. Since the county of Richmond, which is situated in the north-eastern corner of the Eastern Townships, had an English mother tongue population amounting to 11.6 per cent in 1971, it was possible to consider recommending the entire county as a bilingual district. However, the minority, which totalled 4,770, was not distributed evenly throughout the county. The census subdivisions which had a minority population amounting to at least ten per cent were all located in the north-west portion of the county. Together, these census subdivisions contained 3,595 persons of English mother tongue, or more than 75 per cent of all the minority in the county. Since the remainder of Richmond county contained only 1,175 persons of English mother tongue who amounted to less than 4.3 per cent of the total population of this part of the county, the Board did not believe it was advisable to recommend a bilingual district encompassing the whole county.

502. Some members of the Board were of the opinion that the census subdivisions in Richmond which contained such a heavy concentration of the minority should be attached to the extensive bilingual district that we contemplated recommending in the Eastern Townships. Other members pointed out that this arrangement would create a bilingual district of rather peculiar shape. Since the subdivisions in Richmond which possessed the concentration of the minority were located in the north-west of the county and were separated from the prospective district by the southern and eastern portions of Richmond which were overwhelmingly French-speaking and also by the county of Sherbrooke which we were not intending to include in the recommended area, the potential bilingual district would have a large indentation that would give the district an irregular and contrived appearance.

503. Following some discussion, a majority of the Board concluded that it was preferable not to try to add the north-western census subdivisions in Richmond to the prospective bilingual district in the Eastern Townships.

(d) Drummond

504. The remaining group of small census subdivisions which in 1971 had an English mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent and which might have been combined were located in Drummond county,

which is situated immediately to the north of Richmond county.

505. In 1971 there were only three census subdivisions in Drummond which had a minority constituting at least ten per cent. They were Durham-Sud which had 230 persons of English mother tongue amounting to 36.2 per cent, Kingsey which had 155 members of the minority or 12.2 per cent, and Ulverton which had 230 or 76.7 per cent.

506. Although they formed a continuous area in Drummond, they were not contiguous to the proposed bilingual district since we had decided to omit Richmond county which was adjacent to them. The only other possibility was to consider recommending the area as a separate bilingual district. We decided against this option since, although the proportion of the minority amounted to 27.9 per cent, its total number was only 615.

(4) Isolated Localities

507. An additional group of six census subdivisions which each had in 1971 English mother tongue populations amounting to at least ten per cent were also excluded from our recommendations. Although the numbers of the minority within them were not insignificant, the six locations were so isolated that there was no possibility of combining any of them or, except in one case, of joining them to another group of the minority to create a bilingual district in which the minority would be of greater size.

508. The aggregate of the minority in each of these subdivisions varied from 355 to a maximum of 2,225. If we had adopted as a criterion the minimal number of the official language minority contained in any of the bilingual districts which we were prepared to recommend elsewhere in Canada, namely, 580 persons, we would have been faced with the prospect of recommending six additional bilingual districts in Quebec. Since each of them would have been very small and located in a remote and isolated region in which there were limited federal services, the Board decided not to use this criterion in these cases.

(a) Senneterre, Bagotville, and Murdochville

509. However, there was still some difference of opinion among the Board members about some of these areas. Although we agreed unanimously that we need not consider further the census subdivisions of

Senneterre, Bagotville, and Murdochville,¹² there was some extensive discussion of whether we should recommend as bilingual districts the three census subdivisions of Noranda, Schefferville, and Temiscaming. We shall review each case briefly in turn.

(b) Noranda

510. The one instance in which it might have been possible to combine two minority groups occurred in Noranda, which might have been joined to Rouyn. Noranda and Rouyn are twin cities located in the north-western county of Témiscamingue close to the border between Quebec and Ontario.

511. Although Noranda is the smaller of the two cities, it had in 1971 a much larger number of English mother tongue persons than Rouyn. In that year Noranda had a total of 2,225 persons of English mother tongue, amounting to 20.7 per cent of the city's total population. In contrast, Rouyn had a total population of 17,820, but its English mother tongue group amounted to only 645 persons, or 3.6 per cent of the city's residents. Together the two cities had a total English mother tongue population of 2,870 persons, amounting to slightly more than ten per cent of the combined populations. It was therefore possible to consider recommending a bilingual district encompassing the two cities or embracing Noranda alone.

512. A team of members from the Board visited the locality and held consultations with representatives of both the minority and majority. Both groups indicated that residents of the two cities regarded Noranda and Rouyn as one area and that we would be well advised to treat them as a unity. We also found that there were a number of federal services available in the area and there was general agreement that they had been provided satisfactorily in the past. However, opinions were divided on the question of whether a bilingual district should be recommended. One member of the minority believed that since federal services had been provided adequately in the past in the English language, there probably would be no need for a bilingual district if such services were continued in the future. Conversely, another member of the minority fervently expressed the view that a bilingual district should be recommended.

¹² In 1971 Senneterre, which is located in Abitibi county, had an English mother tongue population of 600 persons amounting to 13.9 per cent; Bagotville in Chicoutimi county had an English mother tongue minority which, including those living on the military base, amounted to 1,075 or 31.4 per cent; and Murdochville in the county of Gaspé-Ouest had 710 persons, or 24.6 per cent, belonging to the same minority.

513. We noted from the statistics that there had been a considerable decline of more than 30 per cent in the English mother tongue group in each of the two cities since 1961. On the other hand, in the same interval the French mother tongue population had increased by 3.3 per cent in the combined cities and by 13.4 per cent in Noranda alone. We did not think that the contrast in the trends of the two language groups augured well for the establishment of a bilingual district either in Noranda—Rouyn or in Noranda alone. Because of its isolated location and the fact that the adjoining areas were populated heavily by persons of French mother tongue, there was no possibility of including Noranda—Rouyn within a larger bilingual district.

514. For all of these reasons, and in particular because federal services had been provided satisfactorily in the past and seemed likely to continue without the necessity of a bilingual district, a strong majority of the Board decided after reviewing the question several times, that it would not recommend the creation of a bilingual district for Noranda—Rouyn or for Noranda alone.

(c) Schefferville

515. Several of the same reasons led the Board to a similar conclusion in the case of Schefferville. Located in the far north-east of Quebec very near the fifty-fifth parallel of latitude and the border of Labrador and isolated in a vast uninhabited territory about midway between the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and Ungava Bay, the town of Schefferville was one of the few census subdivisions in the huge county of Saguenay which in 1971 had an English mother tongue population exceeding the ten per cent required for a bilingual district.

516. In 1971 Schefferville had an English mother tongue population amounting to 965 persons, or 29.5 per cent of the total residents in the census subdivision. Since the locality had been founded fairly recently by the Iron Ore Company of Canada as a mining site and derived its livelihood fundamentally from this industry, it was almost a company town, although there were municipal institutions, private businesses, and a limited number of federal government services.

517. A team of Board members visited the town and consulted a number of individuals belonging to both the minority and majority language groups, as well as company and union representatives and municipal officials. Although we received conflicting opinions

about the likelihood of the minority increasing in number, we concluded that the English mother tongue group would probably decline in the future. We heard no complaints that there had been any failure to supply federal services in English as well as in French. While some members of the English-speaking community expressed a desire to have a bilingual district, others did not believe it was necessary.

518. The Board explored the possibility of combining Schefferville with some other locality to create a larger and more viable bilingual district. However, two impediments intervened. First, Schefferville was approximately 300 miles from the nearest area in Quebec which also had an English mother tongue minority amounting to at least ten per cent, namely, the North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Second, we had decided previously that, even if it was possible, it would not be advisable to try to link Schefferville with census subdivision D—West Labrador.¹⁴ Thus, we were forced to conclude that there was no way in which we could join Schefferville to another minority concentration to form a bilingual district containing a greater number of the minority.

519. Having discussed the question more than once, a majority of the Board decided that in view of all the factors, and in particular because the minority was relatively small and there did not seem to be a need for a bilingual district to ensure the continuance of federal services in English, we would not recommend a bilingual district in Schefferville.

(d) Temiscaming

520. The final isolated census subdivision which had the minimal percentage of the minority required for a bilingual district and which some members of the Board were prepared to recommend as a district was the town of Temiscaming. It is situated in the southern portion

of the county of Témiscamingue on the border between Quebec and Ontario.

521. In 1971 the town had an English mother tongue group amounting to 885 persons, or 36.5 per cent of the total population of 2,425. Since the percentage of the minority was so substantial, some members of the Board took the view that the census subdivision should be recommended as a bilingual district. Other members were of a contrary opinion. Although we did not visit this locality, it was noted that the aggregate of the minority was relatively small, that no doubt the number of federal services was limited, and that if the pattern of services which was evident in Quebec applied here, federal facilities were probably available already in English. A comparison between the proportions of each of the two official language groups in the town in 1961 and 1971 also revealed that the English mother tongue population had declined by 11.9 per cent in the decade while the French mother tongue majority had increased by 7.5 per cent in the same interval.

522. The Board explored the possibility of attempting to combine Temiscaming with another locality having a substantial number of the minority in order to create a bilingual district with a larger population. However, since we had decided not to establish districts that encompassed portions of two provinces, which in this case would have been Quebec and Ontario, the only possibility was to try to link Temiscaming and Noranda. This step proved to be impossible since the two points are separated by a distance of approximately 150 miles within which the census subdivisions were populated in 1971 by French mother tongue majorities that considerably exceeded 90 per cent and on occasion attained 100 per cent.

523. When we had considered all these factors, a majority of the Board decided not to recommend the census subdivision of Temiscaming as a bilingual district.

¹⁴ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 141-142, p. 23.

Bilingual Districts Recommended in the Province of Quebec

1. Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes

a. description

the bilingual district of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes consists of the census subdivisions of Arundel, Chatham, Gore, Grenville, Harrington, Lac-des-Seize-Îles, Mille-Îles, Montcalm, Morin Heights, St-Adolphe-d'Howard, St-André-d'Argenteuil, Wentworth and Wentworth-Nord, the city of Lachute, the town of Barkmere, and the villages of Brownsburg, Calumet, Carillon, Grenville and St-André-Est, in the census division of Argenteuil; the census subdivision of St-Colomban and the city of Ste-Scholastique, in the census division of Deux-Montagnes; the census subdivisions of Namur and Ponsonby, in the census division of Papineau.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English	percentage
Argenteuil, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Arundel.....	395	275	69.6
Chatham.....	3,080	850	27.6
Gore.....	255	205	80.4
Grenville.....	1,875	1,070	57.1
Harrington.....	700	580	82.9
Lac-des-Seize-Îles.....	215	15	7.0
Mille-Îles.....	370	230	62.2
Montcalm.....	245	125	51.0
Morin Heights.....	1,315	730	55.5
St-Adolphe-d'Howard.....	1,335	345	25.8
St-André-d'Argenteuil.....	845	160	18.9
Wentworth.....	145	120	82.8
Wentworth-Nord.....	390	65	16.7
city			
Lachute.....	11,815	2,265	19.2
town			
Barkmere.....	50	30	60.0
villages			
Brownsburg.....	3,480	990	28.4
Calumet.....	765	185	24.2
Carillon.....	420	25	6.0
Grenville.....	1,495	340	22.7
St-André-Est.....	1,200	205	17.1
Deux-Montagnes, division (pt)			
subdivision			
St-Colomban.....	1,070	135	12.6
city			
Ste-Scholastique.....	14,785	535	3.6

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Papineau, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Namur.....	460	75	16.3
Ponsonby.....	195	70	35.9
total.....	46,900	9,625	20.5

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes, Gatineau, Labelle and Terrebonne; it is located in part of the provincial electoral districts of Argenteuil and Two Mountains.

Details

524. The two counties of Argenteuil and Deux-Montagnes are located on the north bank of the Ottawa River immediately to the west of Jesus Island and the Island of Montreal. The counties are contiguous, Deux-Montagnes lying to the east and Argenteuil to the west. The bilingual district recommended by the Board embraces all of the county of Argenteuil except for the small census subdivision of Huberdeau located in the northwest corner of the county. The district also includes the adjacent two census subdivisions of Namur and Ponsonby in Papineau county and a western portion of the county of Deux-Montagnes which amounts to about half of the area of that county. This compact region contained in 1971 an English mother tongue population amounting to 9,625 persons, or 20.5 per cent of the total population of the area.

525. Following an examination by the Board of the statistics of the official languages populations in the area and their location, a team of members from the Board visited the region, holding meetings with residents and officials in the cities of Deux-Montagnes and Lachute and in the village of Brownsburg.

Argenteuil

526. The Board had little difficulty in deciding to recommend almost the entire county of Argenteuil as a bilingual district. In 1971 the county had an English mother tongue minority amounting to 8,870 individuals, or 28.3 per cent of the total population. The minority was distributed throughout the county, constituting such a substantial proportion of the population that in a number of census subdivisions it exceeded 50 per cent.

527. The outstanding exception was the subdivision of Huberdeau, which had an English mother tongue popu-

PROVINCE OF
QUÉBEC
FEDERAL BILINGUAL DISTRICTS

LEGEND
Official Representation

PROVINCE DE
QUÉBEC
DISTRICTS BILINGUES FÉDÉRAUX

LEGÈNDE
Représentation officielle

TERRITOIRE DU NOUVEAU QUÉBEC

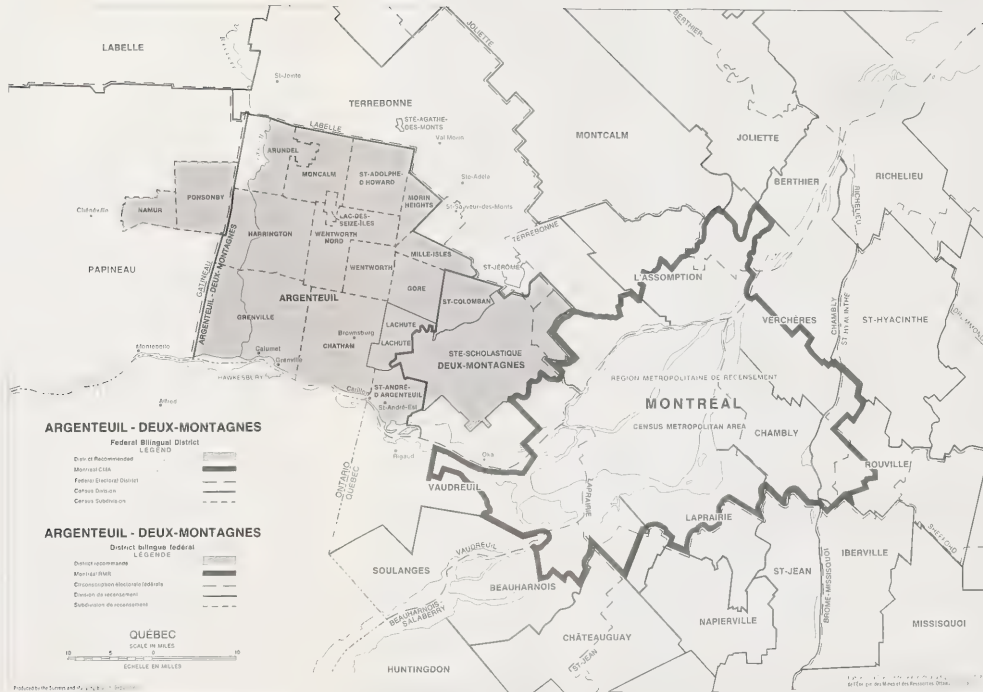
NORTH SHORE OF
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
CÔTE NORD DU
GOLFE SAINT-LAURENT

GASPE-BONAVENTURE

GATINEAU-PONTIAC

ARSENTEUIL-
BELLERIVE-
MONTMAGNAN

HUNTINGDON-COMPTON



lation of only 50 persons, amounting to 5.4 per cent of the local residents. Since Huberdeau was situated in the northwest extremity of the county and conformed in terms of population to the pattern of the adjoining census subdivisions in Papineau and Terrebonne which were overwhelmingly of French mother tongue, and since Huberdeau appeared to have few, if any, federal services, the Board believed that the subdivision of Huberdeau might be omitted from the recommended bilingual district. The exception made little difference to the figures. The preponderant portion of Argenteuil which was recommended contained in 1971 8,820 persons of English mother tongue, amounting to 29.0 per cent of the respective total population.

Findings

528. Our visit to the area and our consultations with residents in Lachute and Brownsburg confirmed our opinion that almost all of the county should be recommended as a bilingual district.

529. Lachute had a number of federal governmental offices and services and received both French and English radio and television programs. We were told that the community identified itself with the area west and north of Lachute rather than with Montreal. Although the English population of the area had apparently declined considerably during a lengthy period of years, it still amounted by mother tongue to 2,265 persons in 1971. Some of the residents predicted that the declining trend might be reversed when the new airport of Mirabel nearby came into operation since English-speaking employees at the airport might well decide to live in Lachute. We were informed by one official that a number of English-speaking unilingual residents would feel more secure if they were included within a bilingual district. The preferences expressed for a bilingual district outweighed the reservations about such a recommendation.

530. More hesitations about a district were expressed in the consultation we held in the neighbouring town of Brownsburg. However, despite these reservations and the fact that there appeared to be only one federal service in Brownsburg, namely, the post office, the Board concluded that the town should be included within the proposed bilingual district since in 1971 it contained a considerably greater percentage of English mother tongue persons than Lachute. The respective figures were 28.4 per cent and 19.2 per cent. Moreover, a number of the 990 English mother tongue persons in Brownsburg appeared to be unilingual.

Namur and Ponsonby

531. The Board decided to add to the recommended district of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes the two contiguous census subdivisions of Namur and Ponsonby which were located within the county of Papineau adjoining the western border of the county of Argenteuil. Together, these two census subdivisions in 1971 contained 145 English mother tongue persons, amounting to 22.1 per cent of the population of the combined subdivisions.

532. Although Namur and Ponsonby had very few federal services, it seemed advisable to include them within the recommended district since the adjacent census subdivisions in Papineau had such an overwhelmingly French mother tongue population that there was little possibility of incorporating Namur and Ponsonby within a bilingual district by any other means.

533. As we will explain subsequently when discussing the recommended district of Gatineau—Pontiac, the extremely heavy concentration of persons of French mother tongue situated within portions of the county of Papineau discouraged us from trying to include the whole of that county to create one continuous bilingual district along the north shore of the Ottawa River.

Deux-Montagnes

534. The county of Deux-Montagnes qualified as a bilingual district since in 1971 it contained an English mother tongue minority amounting to 14.6 per cent of the total population. However, after examining the location of the minority and after holding a consultation in the city of Deux-Montagnes, the Board decided it would not recommend the entire county as a bilingual district.

535. There were at least four reasons. First, several census subdivisions in the southern portion of the county had very heavy concentrations of French mother tongue persons amounting to considerably more than 90 per cent of the population. Second, the south-eastern part of the county was included within the census metropolitan area of Montreal for which a majority of the Board had decided to make other arrangements to provide bilingual services. This south-eastern portion contained about 88 per cent of the English mother tongue persons in the county. In fact, most of the minority resided within two localities in the south-east: the city of Deux-Montagnes and the town of St-Eustache, which together accounted for 6,095 of the 7,640 members of the minority in the county.

536. Third, our consultation in the city of Deux-Montagnes with a group composed of several municipal officials and a number of residents belonging to both official language groups elicited information which confirmed our impression that the area was integrated with metropolitan Montreal. One municipal official estimated that 90 per cent of the work force which resided in the city travelled to employment in Montreal. There were few federal services in the city of Deux-Montagnes. Most residents obtained their federal services in Montreal or in the neighbouring town of St-Eustache which had several, though not many, federal offices. We were told that there was no problem in obtaining federal services in any of these offices in English or French, although one participant mentioned that there were insufficient traffic signs in English on a major highway passing through the area. Television and radio programs were available in both languages. We did not encounter any great concern that the city of Deux-Montagnes should be included in a bilingual district. Although we did not hold a consultation in St-Eustache, we assumed that the situation was likely much the same as in Deux-Montagnes. St-Eustache contained only a third as many persons of English mother tongue and a much smaller proportion of the minority amounting to 16 per cent.

537. For all of these reasons, we concluded that this south-eastern portion of the county, as well as the predominantly French mother tongue southern part of the county, should be omitted from a bilingual district.

St-Colomban and Ste-Scholastique

538. We decided that the remainder of the county should be conjoined with the adjacent county of Argenteuil to form a bilingual district. The portion of the county of Deux-Montagnes in question was composed of the census subdivision of St-Colomban and the city of Ste-Scholastique. In 1971 St-Colomban had only 135 persons of English mother tongue but they amounted to 12.6 per cent of the population. Ste-Scholastique had a larger number of the minority, but a smaller proportion, the figures being respectively 535 and 3.6 per cent. Although the aggregate of the minority was small and amounted to less than ten per cent, we thought Ste-Scholastique should be included within the proposed bilingual district since it was the site of the new international airport of Mirabel in which both official languages would be used extensively. The inclusion of Ste-Scholastique and St-Colomban within the proposed bilingual district reduced the proportion

of the minority considerably in the entire district which we were recommending but it still amounted to 20.5 per cent.

Possible Additions in Terrebonne

539. The Board considered the possibility of adding to the proposed district certain contiguous census subdivisions in the county of Terrebonne. But we were dissuaded from this recommendation by several considerations which we have explained previously.¹³

Recommendation

540. **The Board unanimously recommends the establishment of a bilingual district comprised of the portions of the counties of Argenteuil and Deux-Montagnes which have been noted and the two census subdivisions of Namur and Ponsonby in the county of Papineau.**

2. North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence

a. description

the bilingual district of North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence consists of the census subdivision of Côte Nord du Golfe St-Laurent, in the census division of Saguenay.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English	percent- age
Saguenay, division (pt)			
subdivision			
Côte Nord du Golfe			
St-Laurent.....	5,110	3,870	75.7
total.....	5,110	3,870	75.7

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is located in part of the federal electoral district of Manicouagan, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Duplessis.

Details

541. The bilingual district recommended by the Board is situated in the county of Saguenay on the lower north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Commencing at

¹³ *Supra*, paragraphs 497-499, p. 78.

NORTH SHORE OF GULF OF ST LAWRENCE

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

- District boundaries
- Federal Electoral District
- Census Division
- Census Subdivision

NOTE: The bilingual district of North Shore of Gulf of St. Lawrence lies within the Federal Electoral District of MANICOUAGAN.

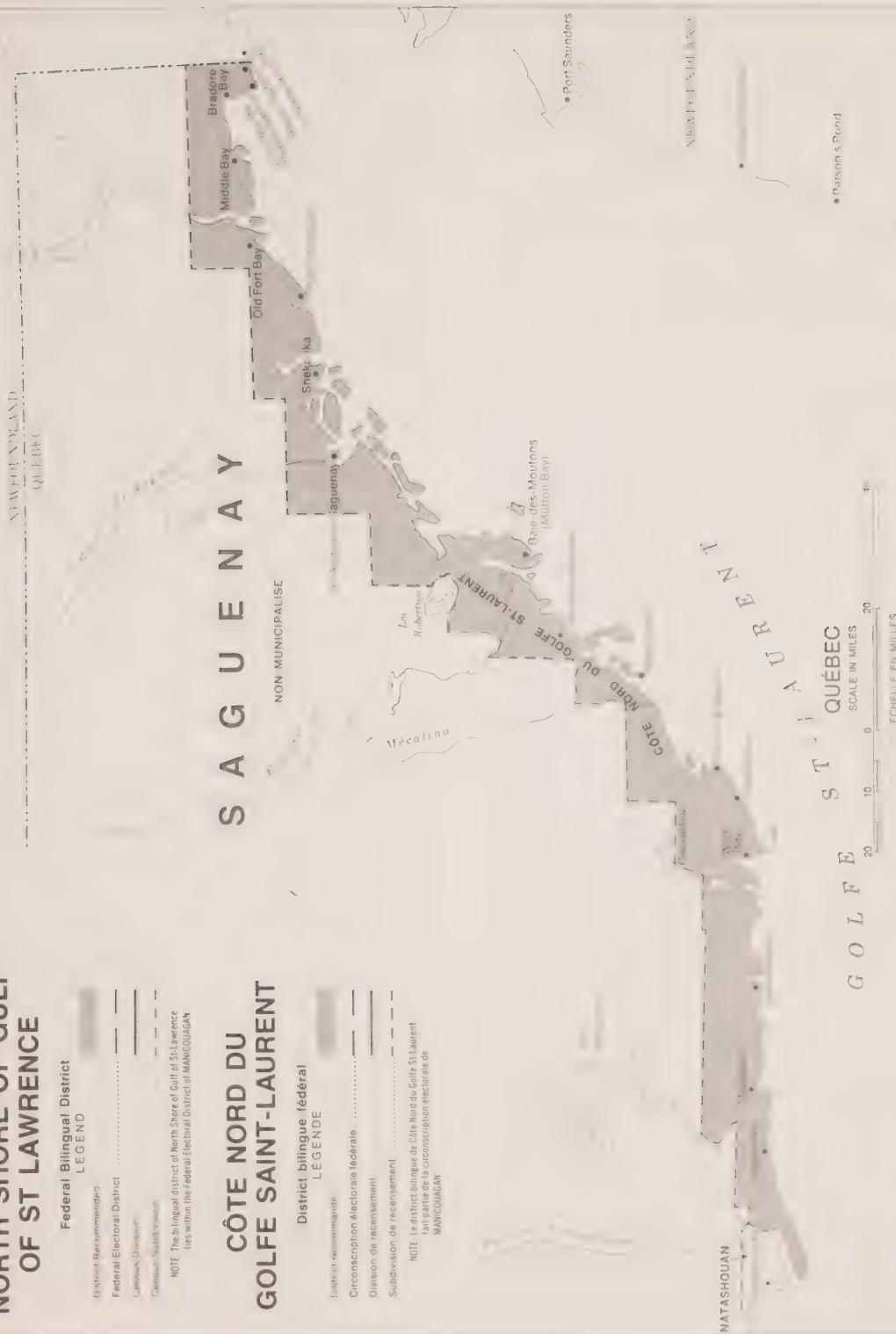
CÔTE NORD DU GOLFE SAINT-LAURENT

District bilingue fédéral

LEGENDE

- District boundaries
- Circonscription électorale fédérale
- Division de recensement
- Subdivision de recensement

NOTE: Le district bilingue de Côte Nord du Golfe St-Laurent se trouve dans la circonscription électorale de MANICOUAGAN.



Kégashka, which is about 225 miles east of Sept-Îles, the territory extends eastward along the coast for about 250 miles to Blanc-Sablon, which is located at the eastern extremity of Quebec where that province meets Labrador at the Strait of Belle Isle.

542. In 1971 this narrow but prolonged littoral was comprised of the census subdivision of Côte Nord du Golfe St-Laurent. Although the population was very dispersed, the area had the largest minority population of any of the five census subdivisions in Saguenay which had an English mother tongue aggregate amounting to at least ten per cent. According to the census of 1971, the census subdivision of Côte Nord du Golfe St-Laurent had a total population of 5,110 persons, of whom 3,870 were of English mother tongue. Since the official minority amounted to 75.7 per cent, it actually constituted a majority in the region. There was a French mother tongue population of 22.7 per cent and an other mother tongue population amounting to 1.6 per cent.

543. This huge area is one of the most remote, inaccessible, and unknown parts of Canada. It lies beyond Natashquan, the barren land Gilles Vigneault celebrated in his song of lasting winter. Communications are limited and difficult. There are no roads or railways within the region. Transportation is by boat, chiefly small fishing craft, or by private airplane or helicopter. Although there is a system of telephonic communication, it is dependent upon radio. Weather conditions are adverse; frequent fogs, mists, and rough seas disrupt contact and transportation. The most active communication point is Blanc-Sablon, which is connected to Newfoundland by a ferry service across the relatively short distance of the Strait of Belle Isle.

544. The population is scattered along the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, residing in a few widely separated villages. There is no habitation inland. Most of the population is English-speaking, being descended from families which originated in the Channel Islands or in Newfoundland and which settled decades ago on rocky islands off-shore or in inlets to rivers in order to pursue their primary occupation of fishing.

Findings

545. A team of Board members visited the region, holding consultations in two localities, Harrington Harbour, which was celebrating its centenary, and Lourdes-du-Blanc-Sablon. Among those attending the meetings were civic officials and residents belonging to each of the two official language groups.

546. We found that although the area had some important links with Newfoundland, which tended to be its major supply centre and communication point, the inhabitants felt very keenly that they were part of Quebec. We noted a pride in identification and a strong sense of community among the residents of "the lower north shore", induced no doubt by the shared hardships of life, a common major occupation, isolation, and a long local history. The sense of community had been strengthened recently when the government of Quebec had created a common school district for the entire area. We were told in Harrington Harbour that English-speaking residents wanted their children to learn French and to have increased communication with the rest of Quebec.

547. The residents indicated that they had fewer complaints about the language in which governmental services were rendered than they had about the lack of certain services in any language. They noted, for example, that the only hospital and medical doctor available in the entire 250-mile region were located in Blanc-Sablon, and that consequently patients from other villages had to be flown by helicopter at great risk. Mail delivery was irregular and the supply of cash was often exhausted. There also appeared to be a shortage of manpower counselling services and programs for the retraining of workers. It was not only difficult to receive radio and television programs but since those received in English originated in Cornerbrook or in Prince Edward Island, they contained little news that was of interest to Quebec residents. Some Anglophones mentioned that they received communications from the federal government in French before they received copies in English. They also noted that some of the representatives of the federal departments and agencies who visited the area spoke very little English. All of this evidence and our own perceptions convinced us that this was an area which might benefit considerably from the establishment of a bilingual district.

Concentrations within the Area

548. Although three of the enumeration areas making up the census subdivision had very large concentrations of persons of French mother tongue, the three areas were not grouped together. One of them was situated between two of the five predominantly English-speaking areas. In the latter the English-speaking residents were so preponderant that their proportion reached 100 per cent in two of them. While it was possible, therefore, to consider creating perhaps two smaller bilingual districts containing only the English

concentrations, the Board could see no point to recommending two districts in such a remote and isolated region which had a small and dispersed total population. The sense of community amongst the residents of both official languages also persuaded us that the entire region should be dealt with as a single entity.

Additional Areas in Saguenay

549. The four additional census subdivisions within the county of Saguenay which had an English mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent in 1971 were Moisie, De Grasse, Port-Cartier, and Schefferville. We have discussed the case of Schefferville previously and given our reasons for not recommending it as a bilingual district.¹⁶ Each of the other locations had such a small population of persons of English mother tongue, the maximum number being 415, that we did not believe that a bilingual district should be recommended for any of them. Because they were so dispersed throughout the county of Saguenay, there was no way in which they could be combined in any formation, with or without alliance to the North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to form a larger bilingual district.

Conclusion

550. When we reviewed the case of the North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, we concluded decisively that this region was a leading example of an area which should be recommended as a bilingual district. The group which belonged to the official language minority in the province was actually so preponderant in this area that it constituted a strong majority amounting to 75.7 per cent of the local population.

551. Moreover, we believed that this region passed the test of most of the non-numerical criteria which we thought might be utilized as additional factors in assessing the wisdom of recommending a bilingual district. First, there was little doubt that in this remote area, beset by such peculiarly difficult physical conditions, a bilingual district might assist the official language minority to obtain federal services in its own language. In fact, because the proclamation of a bilingual district would draw attention to the region and probably improve services in general, all of the residents of the area, whatever their language, might profit from the creation of a district. Second, there was considerable

evidence of a desire on the part of both English- and French-speaking residents to have a bilingual district. Finally, it seemed most unlikely that a bilingual district would provoke disharmony. On the contrary, the residents we met indicated that they would welcome a district as an instrument which would promote community and foster companionship in a huge, lone land whose inhabitants were divided not by language but by nature.

Recommendation

552. The Board recommends unanimously the establishment of a bilingual district called the North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to be comprised of the census subdivision of Côte Nord du golfe St-Laurent.

3. Gaspé—Bonaventure

a. description

the bilingual district of Gaspé—Bonaventure consists of the census divisions of Bonaventure and Gaspé-Est.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English	percentage
Divisions			
Bonaventure.....	41,700	6,135	14.7
Gaspé-Est.....	41,730	6,150	14.7
total.....	83,430	12,285	14.7

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Gaspé—Bonaventure is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Bonaventure—Îles-de-la-Madeleine and Gaspé; it is located in the provincial electoral district of Bonaventure, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Gaspé.

Details

553. The bilingual district recommended by the Board is composed of the two adjacent counties of Gaspé-Est and Bonaventure, which are located respectively in the eastern and southern portions of the Gaspé Peninsula. To avoid any possible confusion, it should be noted that there is an additional contiguous county in the Gaspé Peninsula known as Gaspé-Ouest which is not included in the recommended bilingual district nor referred to

¹⁶ *Supra*, paragraphs 515-519, pp. 80-81.

GASPÉ - BONAVENTURE

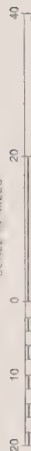
Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

- District Recommended
- Province of New Brunswick
- Province of New Brunswick
- Province of New Brunswick

QUÉBEC

SCALE IN MILES



ÉCHELLE EN MILES

GASPÉ - BONAVENTURE

District Bilingual fédéral

LEGEND

- District Recommended
- Province of New Brunswick
- Province of New Brunswick
- Province of New Brunswick

BONAVENTURE

BONAVENTURE

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- 32 Carleton Place

GASPÉ - OUEST

GASPÉ - EST

MATAPÉDIA

Causapical

BONAVENTURE - ÎLES DE LA MADELEINE

GASPÉ

GASPÉ

GASPÉ

GASPÉ

GASPÉ

GASPÉ

GASPÉ

GASPÉ-EST

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further in this report since in 1971 it contained only 795 persons of English mother tongue, amounting to 4.2 per cent of the population, or considerably less than the ten per cent required for a district.

554. The bilingual district which is proposed comprises a large portion of that region traditionally known as the Gaspé and populated by Gaspésians. In 1971 the two counties of Gaspé-Est and Bonaventure together had a total population of 83,430 individuals, of whom 12,285, or 14.7 per cent, were of English mother tongue. By an odd coincidence, each of the two counties of Gaspé-Est and Bonaventure possessed in 1971 nearly the same aggregate of inhabitants, almost the same number of persons of English mother tongue, and exactly the same percentage of the official language minority. Because of the size and distribution of the minority, it was possible to consider a number of options. We could recommend a bilingual district for both counties together, or in each of the two counties, or in one or neither of them. In addition, since the English mother tongue minority was widely dispersed in each of the two counties, it was also possible to consider recommending as bilingual districts a number of areas that were smaller than either county. The Board examined all of these options.

Gaspé-Est

555. In 1971 the county of Gaspé-Est, which comprises the eastern extremity of the Gaspé Peninsula, had a total population of 41,730 persons, of whom 6,150, or 14.7 per cent, were of English mother tongue. Since 1961 the English mother tongue population had declined by 4.3 per cent while the French mother tongue population had increased by 2.1 per cent.

556. An examination of the statistics revealed that the English mother tongue population was concentrated in four principal locations: the census subdivision of Pabos-Mills, the two cities in the county which were Gaspé and Percé, and the one town in the county, Chandler. In each of these census subdivisions the official language minority exceeded ten per cent. In the city of Gaspé it amounted in 1971 to 22.1 per cent, in the city of Percé to 24.3 per cent, in the town of Chandler to 11.3 per cent, and in the census subdivision of Pabos-Mills to 19.4 per cent. None of the remaining 11 census subdivisions in Gaspé-Est had a minority population amounting to more than 7.8 per cent at the maximum while in most cases it was less than two per cent. Thus, more than 90 per cent of the English mother tongue residents of Gaspé-Est were

located in the four centres mentioned. These communities, however, were for the most part dispersed. The city of Gaspé is about 25 miles north of the city of Percé, which in turn is located about 25 miles northeast of the adjoining communities of Chandler and Pabos-Mills.

Bonaventure

557. Bonaventure county lies south-west of Gaspé-Est, extending along the Bay of Chaleur from the boundary of Gaspé-Est to the border of New Brunswick at the mouth of the Restigouche River. In 1971 Bonaventure had a total population of 41,700, of whom 6,135, or 14.7 per cent, were of English mother tongue. Since 1961 the English mother tongue population in Bonaventure had increased slightly by 0.7 per cent while the French mother tongue population had declined by the somewhat larger proportion of 3.8 per cent.

558. In 1971 the English mother tongue minority in Bonaventure was concentrated in several localities. Twelve of the 34 census subdivisions had a minority amounting to more than ten per cent. In some of these locations the minority was actually so large that it constituted a majority of the local population. However, most of the remaining 22 census subdivisions had a very small proportion of English mother tongue persons, often as little as approximately one or two per cent. Moreover, as in Gaspé-Est, the minority tended to be concentrated into three or four principal localities which were interspersed with areas that were heavily populated by persons of French mother tongue.

The Pattern of Settlement

559. In the Gaspé Peninsula in 1971 almost all of the population was confined to the coast. There was little or no settlement beyond the littoral which seldom extended inland further than ten miles. The interior of the counties of Gaspé-Est and Bonaventure, which accounted for most of their land area, was comprised of large, uninhabited, and unorganized territory.

560. The English minority was dispersed in clusters throughout a portion of the coastal fringe extending from Rivière-au-Renard in the north-east of the county of Gaspé-Est to Matapédia in the south-west of Bonaventure county. Within this lengthy strip the minority was divided by the Percé mountains into two major groups: the Gaspé group extending northward to Rivière-au-Renard, and the Bonaventure group ex-

tending westward to Matapédia. Each of these groups was subdivided, as we have noted previously, into English mother tongue concentrations that were interspersed by French mother tongue concentrations.

Visits

561. A team of members from the Board visited the Gaspé region and held consultations in Shigawake in Bonaventure county and in the city of Gaspé in the county of Gaspé-Est. We shall discuss our findings at each of these meetings after we have noted briefly the position of the Anglophones in the Gaspé.

The Gaspesian Anglophones

562. We found that many of the English mother tongue minority in the Gaspé Peninsula were descended from settlers who arrived a century or more ago from, in particular, the Channel Islands. Because of their lineage, a number of the minority whom we met bore French surnames originating in the Channel Islands. Some members of the minority had intermarried with Francophones in the Gaspé region. Many of them were bilingual. For these reasons, and above all because their roots were deep, the Anglophones whom we met regarded themselves as "Québécois pure laine".

563. They were neither an economically dominant nor powerful group. Since they had little connection and little in common with the English group in Montreal or elsewhere in Quebec, they were very conscious of being an isolated minority in a predominantly French-speaking province. We concluded that the Gaspesian Anglophones, like their fellow Anglophones on the north shore of the lower St. Lawrence, were among the few English-speaking minority groups in the country which seemed to be in a position comparable to the isolated Francophone groups in Western Canada.

Findings in Bonaventure

564. The first meeting the Board held in the region took place at an Anglophone community centre in the village of Shigawake in Bonaventure county. This meeting was well attended by about 20 members of the minority who represented a variety of occupations and interests, such as education, agriculture, business, and the Gaspesian Cultural Association.

565. The group voiced considerable discontent with the inadequacies of federal and provincial services in general and especially in the English language. There

were few federal services in Bonaventure except for local post offices, and although most of these limited federal services were provided satisfactorily in English, there were some serious difficulties. It appeared that in the fields of manpower counselling and retraining, for example, there was an insufficient supply of counsellors who could provide adequate services in English. A number of Anglophone workers who had little education had difficulty in communicating not only with local officials in manpower but also in agriculture, fisheries, and unemployment insurance. We also were told that federal governmental literature from Ottawa and the regional offices often arrived in French first and only later, if at all, in English. We heard too that a number of Local Initiative Programs and Opportunity for Youth programs had been available only to Francophones in the area and not to Anglophones.

566. There was considerable unhappiness that the regional federal offices for the area were located in Rimouski or Quebec city or even in Montreal. This led the local residents, both English and French, to feel that they were neglected by the federal government. Since hospital and medical services were particularly meagre, the sense of neglect extended to provincial governmental facilities as well.

567. The Anglophones also complained that they were not served adequately with English-speaking radio and television services. Although some programs were available in their own language, they originated in Moncton and therefore tended to contain material and news that was oriented to New Brunswick rather than to the province of Quebec or the region of Gaspé. At the time of our visit there was no means of transmitting English-speaking educational television programs to the schools in Bonaventure.

568. In summary, the Anglophones in Bonaventure felt that they suffered from neglect on the part of both the federal and provincial governments and that the neglect affected adversely both French-speaking and English-speaking persons.

569. The Anglophones in Bonaventure were one of the few English-speaking minority groups whom we met in Canada who had established and maintained their own cultural association. The Gaspesian Cultural Association, which at the time of our visit had been in existence for about ten years, impressed us as being an active and well-organized community body which was neither parochial nor exclusive. It was attempting to link together the residents of both Bonaventure and Gaspé-Est and also the Magdalen Islands. It was devoted to preserving and

enriching the culture of Gaspésians, both English and French. The members whom we met had no desire to create an English ghetto, but on the contrary wished to improve the quality of life of all Gaspésians. In particular, they were anxious to secure assistance for local occupations, such as farming and fishing, in order to retain their own youth in the community. While the members whom we encountered were obviously anxious to preserve their English identity, they were proud of the bicultural and bilingual nature of their community and wished to live in harmony and cooperation with the French-speaking majority.

570. We derived the impression that the group was as interested in obtaining recognition of its need for services from the federal and provincial governments as it was with the need for improvement of services in English. However, it was clear that the group believed that the creation of a bilingual district in the area would assist the community in obtaining not only more satisfactory services in the minority language but a more plentiful supply of necessary services. The group was overwhelmingly of the opinion that any bilingual district established in the region should include both the counties of Bonaventure and Gaspé-Est.

Findings in Gaspé-Est

571. The group of some two dozen members of the minority whom we met in the city of Gaspé were equally attached to the province in which they lived. They displayed great pride in the fact that they were "Gaspésians". From their comments we concluded that Gaspé was somewhat more plentifully supplied with federal services and bilingual facilities than was Bonaventure. There appeared to be federal governmental services in manpower and immigration, the post office, customs, fisheries, environment, unemployment insurance, broadcasting, railways, police, and in a national park.

572. In the main, the supply of federal services in English seemed to be satisfactory. However, there were some complaints that there was difficulty in getting services in English in a new park, and there was a repetition of the complaint heard in Bonaventure that there was an inadequate supply of counselling in English for Anglophone workers with limited education. We also received a complaint that some of the literature sent to war veterans and old age pensioners arrived only in French and had to be requested in English if it was to be obtained. Although the Gaspé-Est region seemed to be better served with English

language radio and television services than was Bonaventure, we still heard criticism that the reception of radio and television programs in English in Gaspé was unsatisfactory.

573. The group whom we met in Gaspé was in favour of the creation of a bilingual district but somewhat divided in its opinions on the extent of the district. The majority preferred separate districts for Gaspé-Est and for Bonaventure. However, some members expressed the view that they preferred one larger district which would include both Gaspé-Est and Bonaventure. Whatever the extent of the district, the members present did not believe that the creation of a bilingual district would foment dissension between the two official language groups. Like the Anglophones in Bonaventure, they assumed that a bilingual district would benefit all of the residents by encouraging the provision of more adequate federal and provincial services to the entire community.

Consideration of the Magdalen Islands

574. Some of the minority proposed that any bilingual district should include the Magdalen Islands since the latter were regarded as part of the region. We noted a considerable community of interest between at least the Anglophone residents of Gaspé and Bonaventure and their language colleagues on the Magdalen Islands. The Gaspesian Cultural Association, for instance, included the Magdalen Islands while the Gaspé school board provided secondary schooling for children from the islands. In addition, the Magdalen Islands were part of the federal electoral district of Bonaventure.

575. The Board studied the possibility of including the Magdalen Islands in a bilingual district. We noted that two of the census subdivisions, Grosse-Île and Île-d'Entrée were in 1971 almost entirely English-speaking by mother tongue. On Grosse-Île there were 470 persons of English mother tongue who constituted 98.9 per cent of the population. At the same time there were on the Île-d'Entrée 245 persons of English mother tongue who amounted to 100 per cent of the island's population.

576. However, these two census subdivisions were the major concentrations of the English mother tongue minority. They accounted for almost 85 per cent of the English mother tongue population in the islands as a whole. Since there appeared to be little logic in including only two of the islands and since the Magdalen Islands together had an English mother tongue population amounting to only 6.4 per cent of the total popula-

tion of the islands, the Board concluded that it could not recommend the inclusion of the Magdalen Islands within any bilingual district recommended in the area.

Summation

577. The Board decided almost unanimously that the circumstances present in the counties of Bonaventure and Gaspé-Est warranted the recommendation of a bilingual district. Together or separately, the counties had more than the percentage of the mother tongue minority required for a bilingual district. The area also appeared to be the sort of region in which a bilingual district might well be of considerable benefit to the minority. Creation of a bilingual district might not only provide federal services in the minority official language more satisfactorily but it might also lead to a greater recognition of the existence of the minority, to its reinforcement, and to the provision of more adequate services in general to all members of the region by both the federal and provincial governments. We believed also that the minority had demonstrated its vitality and desire to maintain its identity by creating a cultural association which would preserve and develop the social heritage not only of the minority but of all the residents of the region.

578. The question that remained was to determine the extent of the bilingual district or districts that were to be recommended. The Board believed that it had several options. It could recommend one district for the combined counties of Bonaventure and Gaspé-Est or two districts which would amount to separate districts for each of Bonaventure and Gaspé-Est, or a third possibility was to consider the feasibility of recommending a number of bilingual districts for each of the small English mother tongue clusters of population in the two counties.

579. The third possibility was the first to be discarded. When we looked at the map, we noted that the 16 census subdivisions in the two counties which each had an English mother tongue population of at least ten per cent could be combined into perhaps seven or eight clusters of the minority, but the concentrations would be separated by intervening census subdivisions composed of populations of more than 90 per cent French mother tongue. Except for the city of Gaspé, which had an English mother tongue population of 3,810 persons, none of these census subdivisions had a minority population amounting to even 1,500 people. It was also doubtful that such small localities would have many federal services. We could not see the point, therefore,

in recommending a fairly large number of very small bilingual districts in the region.

580. After reviewing the evidence presented to us and discussing it thoroughly, we decided with near unanimity that the argument in favour of creating one bilingual district composed of both Bonaventure county and Gaspé-Est county outweighed the arguments in favour of two separate districts. Although we could understand the sentiments expressed by the persons whom we met in Gaspé who were in favour of a separate district for that area, we believed that in light of the remote and isolated nature of the entire region and the smallness and dispersion of the minority throughout the region, it was wiser to recommend one consolidated bilingual district for the entire area. In arriving at this decision, we were convinced that we were following the reasoning that we had applied in other parts of Canada when we chose extensive bilingual districts for French mother tongue minority groups.

581. Finally, it was necessary to determine whether we should confine the boundaries of the district to the inhabited region of the two counties along the coast or whether we should include within the recommended district the entire area of both Bonaventure and Gaspé-Est. Although the decision would make little difference to the persons involved in the district or to the final population figures since there were virtually no individuals living in the interior of the two counties, there was a marked disadvantage to selecting only the coastal strip. Since its boundaries would be so irregular, they would be very difficult to delineate in a simple manner that would be intelligible and familiar to the public. A strong majority of the Board therefore preferred the choice of the entire area of the two counties.

Recommendation

582. A strong majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district composed of the two counties of Bonaventure and Gaspé-Est.

4. Gatineau—Pontiac

a. description

the bilingual district of Gatineau—Pontiac consists of the census subdivisions of Aylwin, Denholm, Hincks, Low and Northfield, and, in whole or in part, the enumeration areas (E.A.) No.

101, 102, 103, 106 and 155 of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 450 (Pontiac), in the census division of Gatineau; the census subdivisions of Bowman, Lochaber partie ouest, Mayo, Mulgrave & Derry and Val-des-Bois, and, in whole or in part, the enumeration areas No. 057, 251, 252, 254 and 255 of the federal electoral district No. 421 (Gatineau), in the census division of Papineau; the census subdivisions of Alleyn & Cawood, Bristol, Chichester, Clarendon, Grand-Calumet, Isle-aux-Allumettes partie est, Isle-des-Allumettes, Leslie Clapham & Huddersfield, Litchfield, Mansfield & Pontefract, Rapides-des-Joachims, Sheen Esher Aberdeen & Malakoff, Thorne and Waltham & Bryson, the villages of Bryson, Campbell's Bay, Chapeau, Fort-Coulonge, Portage-du-Fort, and Shawville, and in whole or in part, the enumeration area No. 211 of the federal electoral district No. 450 (Pontiac) in the census division of Pontiac.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English	percent- age
Gatineau, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Aylwin.....	620	425	68.5
Denholm.....	205	75	36.6
Hincks.....	375	65	17.3
Low.....	985	725	73.6
Northfield.....	495	65	13.1
E.D. E.A.			
450 101 (pt).....	745	90	12.1
450 102 (pt).....	475	310	65.3
450 103 (pt).....	390	270	69.2
450 106 (pt).....	345	235	68.1
450 155 (pt).....	705	5	0.7
Papineau, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Bowman.....	290	40	13.8
Lochaber, partie ouest.....	430	90	20.9
Mayo.....	160	100	62.5
Mulgrave & Derry....	235	185	78.7
Val-des-Bois.....	545	55	10.1
E.D. E.A.			
421 057 (pt).....	255	45	17.6
421 251 (pt).....	420	135	32.1
421 252 (pt).....	330	80	24.2
421 254 (pt).....	670	35	5.2
421 255 (pt).....	410	235	57.3
Pontiac, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Alleyn & Cawood....	165	140	84.8
Bristol.....	1,020	935	91.7
Chichester.....	565	480	85.0
Clarendon.....	1,640	1,555	94.8
Grand-Calumet.....	1,035	270	26.1
Isle-aux-Allumettes, partie est.....	390	305	78.2

division—subdivision	total	English	percent- age
Isle-des-Allumettes...	640	300	46.9
Leslie, Clapham & Huddersfield.....	1,015	495	48.8
Litchfield.....	670	495	73.9
Mansfield & Pontefract.....	1,820	250	13.7
Rapides-des- Joachims.....	230	150	65.2
Sheen, Esher, Aberdeen & Malakoff.....	195	185	94.9
Thorne.....	295	225	76.3
Waltham & Bryson..	490	385	78.6
villages			
Bryson.....	810	410	50.6
Campbell's Bay.....	1,185	710	59.9
Chapeau.....	535	360	67.3
Fort-Coulonge.....	1,785	260	14.6
Portage-du-Fort.....	435	375	86.2
Shawville.....	1,745	1,630	93.4
E.D. E.A.			
450 211 (pt).....	545	30	5.5
total.....	26,295	13,210	50.2

Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area, even where only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Gatineau—Pontiac is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Gatineau and Pontiac; it is located in part of the provincial electoral districts of Gatineau, Papineau and Pontiac—Témiscamingue.

Details

583. The bilingual district recommended by the Board embraces certain portions of the three counties of Papineau, Gatineau, and Pontiac, which are contiguous counties located on the north bank of the Ottawa River to the east, north, and west of the National Capital Region.

584. The recommended district incorporates all of the census subdivisions and parts of some enumeration areas in the two counties of Gatineau and Pontiac which in 1971 had an English mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent, except for two census subdivisions located toward the north in Gatineau and those census subdivisions in Gatineau and Pontiac which were included within the National Capital Region. In addition, the proposed district contains five census subdivisions and parts of five enumeration areas

in the county of Papineau which in 1971 were adjacent to the eastern boundaries of the county of Gatineau and the National Capital Region.

585. Composed in this manner, the bilingual district of Gatineau—Pontiac complements the National Capital Region. Residents within the Region have received bilingual federal services by virtue of living in the Region. Residents in the peripheral areas surrounding the National Capital Region will now be provided with similar services by being included in the recommended bilingual district.

586. In 1971 the area comprising the proposed district had a total population of 26,295 persons, of whom 13,210, or 50.2 per cent, were of English mother tongue. Before describing the components of the recommended district, we think it would be helpful to note briefly some of the factors which are peculiar to this area and which, because of their complexity, might lead to confusion if they were not clarified.

The National Capital Region

587. As we have explained previously,¹⁷ Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act requires the federal government and its agencies to provide their services to the public in both English and French within the National Capital Region independently of any action by a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board. Since it was neither possible nor necessary for our Board to make recommendations in regard to the area within the National Capital Region, we shall not enumerate here nor examine in detail any of these portions of the National Capital Region.¹⁸ However, it is worth pointing out the complexities.

588. The rather extensive area occupied by the National Capital Region included in 1971 on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River some southern portions of Gatineau and Pontiac counties and some western portions of Papineau county. While in certain instances entire census subdivisions within these three counties were contained within the National Capital Region, in some other cases only portions of census subdivisions in the three counties were included within the National Capital Region since the boundaries of the Region and these subdivisions did not coincide precisely.

589. In these latter instances it was necessary for the Board to identify smaller areas than census subdivisions

so that by including them within the bilingual district we could extend the boundary of the district to meet the boundary of the National Capital Region. Thus, a number of these smaller localities, which are officially termed enumeration areas within federal electoral districts, appear in the geostatistical details given for this particular bilingual district in section (a) and (b) above.¹⁹

Hull County

590. It is also worth noting in passing that in 1971 the entire county of Hull, including the city of Hull, was contained within the National Capital Region. Although the county as a whole had an English mother tongue population amounting to only 9.1 per cent, there were several localities within the county which had an English mother tongue concentration amounting to at least ten per cent. However, since the entire county of Hull was provided with bilingual federal services because it was part of the National Capital Region, the Board had no need to consider it further.

Census Metropolitan Area of Ottawa—Hull

591. The final point that should be noted for purposes of clarification is that in 1971 there was an additional major census geostatistical area involved in this territory. The locality was the census metropolitan area of Ottawa—Hull, which spanned the Ottawa River and included vicinities in both Quebec and Ontario. However, inasmuch as all of the census metropolitan area on the Quebec side of the river was contained within the National Capital Region, it was unnecessary for the Board to appraise the area as a potential part of the recommended bilingual district.

592. Having considered the major areas which might have qualified as localities within a bilingual district because they contained at least ten per cent of the minority but which were ineligible because they were part of the National Capital Region, the Board turned its attention to identifying the portions of the three counties of Gatineau, Pontiac, and Papineau which were admissible as parts of a bilingual district.

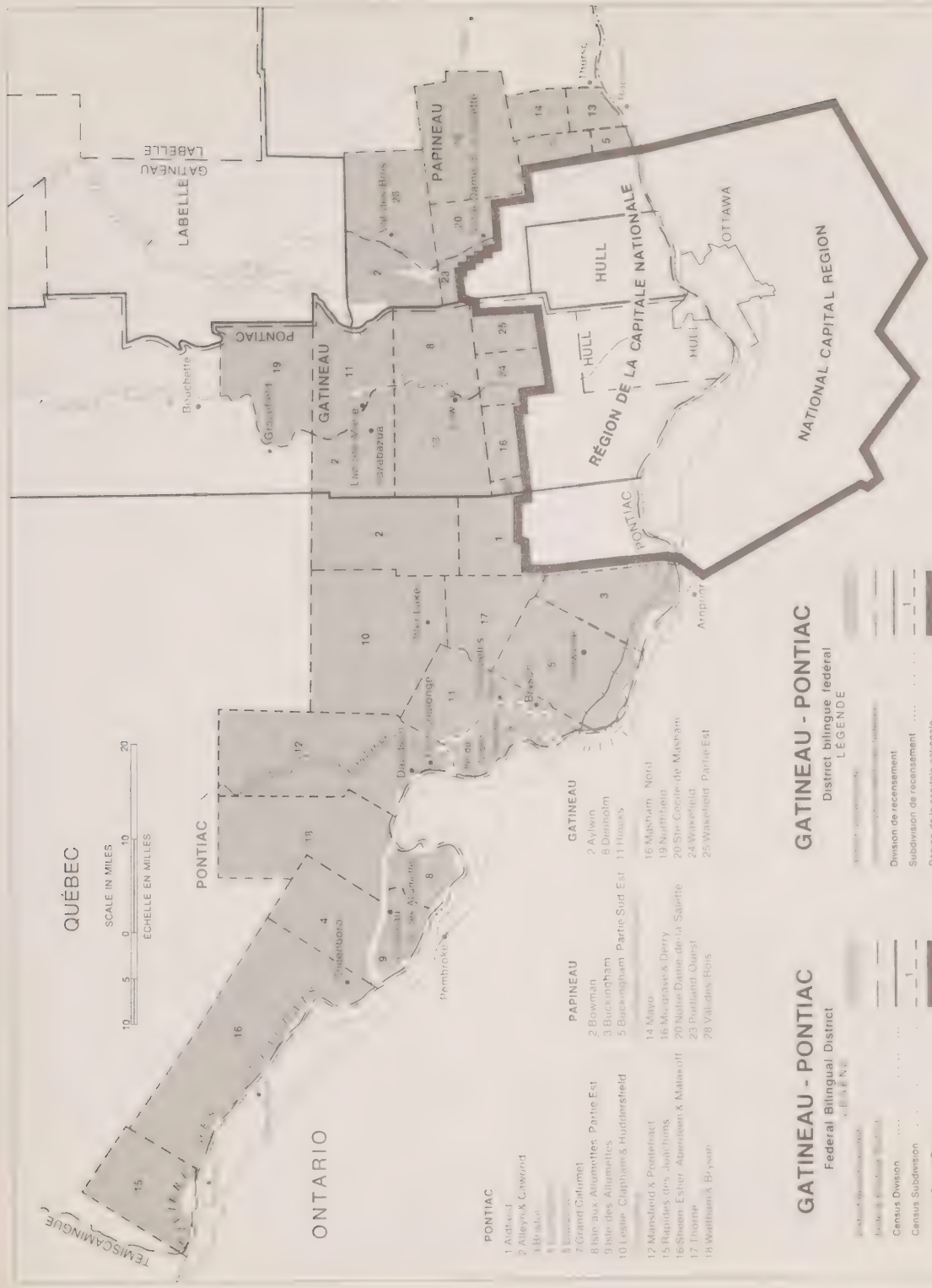
Gatineau

593. In 1971 the county of Gatineau had a total population of 55,730 persons, of whom 15,795, or 28.3 per cent, were of English mother tongue. However, as

¹⁷ See *supra*, paragraph 491, p. 77.

¹⁸ Some of the relevant portions have been mentioned *supra*, paragraph 492, p. 77.

¹⁹ See *supra*, pp. 90-91.



QUÉBEC



ONTARIO

PONTIAC

- 1 Audouville
- 2 Alwyn & Cawood
- 3 Bristol
- 4 Cambridge
- 5 Cambridge
- 6 Cambridge
- 7 Grand Calumet
- 8 Bas aux Alouettes, Partie Est
- 9 Isle des Alouettes
- 10 Leslie, Clapham & Huddersfield
- 11 Mansfield & Pontefract
- 12 Rapides des Joachims
- 13 Shoen, Ester, Abernethy & Malasoff
- 14 Thorne
- 15 Waltham & Bryson

PAPINEAU

- 2 Bowman
- 3 Buckingham
- 5 Buckingham, Partie Sud Est
- 14 Mayo
- 16 Mulgrave & Derry
- 20 Notre Dame de la Salette
- 23 Portland Querst
- 28 Val des Bois

GATINEAU

- 2 Aylwin
- 8 Desnois
- 11 Hume
- 16 Masham, Nord
- 19 Northfield
- 20 Ste Coecile de Masham
- 24 Wakefield
- 25 Wakefield, Partie Est

GATINEAU - PONTIAC
Federal Bilingual District

LEGÈNDE

- Census Division
- Census Subdivision
- National Capital Region

GATINEAU - PONTIAC
District bilingue fédéral

LEGÈNDE

- Division de recensement
- Subdivision de recensement
- Région de la capitale nationale

already noted, most of the population, including most of the minority, resided in the National Capital Region. The remainder of the minority dwelt for the most part in a limited number of census subdivisions immediately to the north of the National Capital Region. Although Gatineau was quite a large county extending some 150 miles north of the Ottawa River, relatively few persons, and a small percentage of the minority, resided in the northern portion of the county.

594. Accordingly, after some reflection, the Board decided that while it was possible to include within the bilingual district the whole of the county except that part of it in the National Capital Region, it would be preferable to incorporate only the group of more populous census subdivisions which had an English mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent. We therefore included each of the census subdivisions which had the minimal required percentage of the minority except two subdivisions which were situated farther to the north.

595. The two census subdivisions which had the required minimum but which were omitted were Egan-Sud and Wright. Since the total English mother tongue population in both of them was only 200 individuals and since it seemed very unlikely that there were any federal services other than a few post offices in these areas, we thought that these two census subdivisions might be excluded.

596. The five census subdivisions which were included were Aylwin, Denholm, Hincks, Low, and Northfield. To the area comprised of these subdivisions, we added the parts of the five enumeration areas which lay between this area and the National Capital Region, in order to make this portion of the bilingual district contiguous with the National Capital Region. The combined area which emerged from this arrangement and which is the portion of Gatineau county included in the recommended district had in 1971 a total population of 5,340 individuals, of whom 2,265, or 42.4 per cent, were of English mother tongue.

597. Although the Board held no consultations in Gatineau county, one elected representative in the area accepted our invitation to consult with us. He offered no objections to our proposed composition of this part of the the district.

Pontiac

598. In 1971 the county of Pontiac had a total population of 19,570 persons, of whom 11,145, or 56.9

per cent, were of English mother tongue. Pontiac was, therefore, one of the two counties in Quebec in which the English mother tongue group constituted a majority of the total population. Consequently, it might have seemed plausible to include the entire county within the proposed bilingual district.

599. However, two considerations deterred us from making this recommendation. First, there were three census subdivisions and a part of a fourth located in the east of the county, namely, Onslow, Onslow partie sud, the village of Quyon, and part of Aldfield which were included within the National Capital Region and therefore beyond our competence. Second, Pontiac was a very big county, much larger in area than Gatineau and extending even farther north. There were very few residents in the vast northern expanse of the county. All but a few hundred individuals dwelt in a relatively narrow strip of settlement along the north bank of the Ottawa River.

600. Since there were so few people in the north, and obviously few, if any, federal services there, we concluded that we should follow the procedure adopted in Gatineau and confine the bilingual district to the inhabited southern part of the county, thereby including all the census subdivisions and localities which had an English mother tongue population of at least ten per cent except for those which were situated in the National Capital Region. To make the selected part of Pontiac entirely contiguous with the adjacent county of Gatineau and the National Capital Region, it was necessary to identify the portion of Aldfield census subdivision which lay within the district by referring to the relevant enumeration area.

Findings

601. Representatives of the Board consulted local officials and residents of Pontiac county on four occasions. The first consultation occurred at Campbell's Bay when spokesmen for the Board were invited to attend a meeting of the county council to explain the purpose and the work of the Board. This meeting was attended by the warden of the county, 25 local mayors, and two officials of the Board. A second and third consultation were held in Shawville and Fort-Coulonge. On each of these occasions a delegation from the Board met with approximately a dozen local residents who included members of each official language group, elected authorities, and community leaders. On a subsequent occasion a team of Board members consulted the local member of Parliament in Ottawa.

602. A number of salient points emerged from these consultations. The preponderance of early settlers in Pontiac had been English-speaking but the Francophone minority had increased through the years. However, during the decade from 1961 to 1971, the English mother tongue population in the county had increased somewhat from 55.0 per cent to 56.9 per cent while the French mother tongue population had decreased slightly from 41.7 per cent to 40.3 per cent. The proportion of persons of other mother tongue, which was very small in 1961, had declined substantially. In 1971 there were only 530 persons of other mother tongue in the entire county, which had a total population of 19,570.

603. Although most of the census subdivisions and localities were predominantly of English mother tongue in 1971 and some of these areas, like Bristol, Clarendon, and Shawville, had such large English mother tongue populations that they exceeded 90 per cent, there were seven areas, amounting to one-third of the components of the county, which had French mother tongue majorities, one as overwhelming as 100 per cent. Perhaps because of this precarious balance, there was some tension in regard to language issues. The English-speaking elements tended to have an affinity with the Anglophones in Ontario on the other side of the Ottawa River and in the region of Ottawa.

604. Despite the fact that there appeared to be very few federal services in Pontiac except for local post offices, manpower and unemployment insurance facilities, we were told that feelings ran high on the subject of bilingualism in the federal public service, particularly in regard to the way in which it affected opportunities for governmental employment. An elected representative suggested that for this reason we should consider omitting from the proposed bilingual district the village of Shawville which had an English mother tongue population amounting to 93.4 per cent. We pointed out that it would be difficult to make such exceptions since if we did so, it would be impossible to delineate a coherent district. Another participant noted that in some places in Pontiac the language in which federal services were deficient was French, not English.

605. We can summarize the problem by repeating the opinion of an elected representative. While on balance he was in favour of the creation of a bilingual district, he warned that if local dissension were to be avoided, it would be necessary to explain clearly to residents the nature of a bilingual district and the civil service would have to be careful to implement bilingual services in a sensible manner. To illustrate his point,

he noted that about half of the contractors who delivered rural mail were either unilingual English or unilingual French and that if they were required to be bilingual, there would be difficulties. A more positive position was taken by the county council which submitted to the Board a recommendation that a bilingual district be established. We received no outright objections to a bilingual district.

606. After discussing the subject at some length, the Board decided that because of the existence of the very large percentages of both official language groups, there was little doubt that the southern portion of Pontiac county, omitting the area within the National Capital Region, should be included within the proposed bilingual district. In 1971 the total population of the recommended part of Pontiac was 17,210 persons, of whom 9,945, or 57.8 per cent were of English mother tongue. We trust that our recommendation will carry with it the advice we received from local residents.

Papineau

607. Although the entire county of Papineau was eligible to be recommended as a bilingual district since in 1971 it had an English mother tongue population amounting to 12.2 per cent, the realities of the situation deterred us from making this proposal.

608. There were three restraints. First, since the western part of Papineau was included within the National Capital Region, it was beyond our power to recommend the incorporation of this area within a bilingual district. Second, more than half of the English mother tongue population of Papineau, or about 67 per cent, resided in the portion of Papineau which was in the National Capital Region. Thus, 2,615 of the 3,880 English mother tongue individuals in the whole county dwelt in the census subdivisions of Buckingham, Buckingham partie ouest, Buckingham partie sud-est, L'Ange Gardien, Notre-Dame-de-la-Salette, and Portland-Ouest, the towns of Buckingham and Masson, and the village of Angers, all of which were situated, in whole or in part, in the National Capital Region. Third, the remaining 1,265 members of the minority were not distributed evenly throughout the rest of the county. There were some census subdivisions that had strong concentrations of the minority, the most substantial of which reached 78.7 per cent, while in several other census subdivisions the minority was zero.

609. Since the localities which had a minority population amounting to at least ten per cent happened to be on the eastern and western flanks of Papineau, the

plausible solution seemed to be to treat these areas separately, attaching the one in the east to the adjacent bilingual district of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes and the one in the west to the adjoining bilingual district of Gatineau—Pontiac. The portion of the county which remained and which was preponderantly of French mother tongue would be omitted from any bilingual district.

610. We realized that there might be two objections to such an arrangement. First, it might be argued that in the part of Papineau omitted from a bilingual district the federal government would not be required by Section 9 (1) of the Official Languages Act to provide its services to the minority in English. However, there did not appear to be many federal services of any kind except post offices in this predominantly rural territory. Most of the residents probably obtained their federal services in the nearby National Capital Region. Moreover, the number of English mother tongue persons in the excluded area in 1971 was relatively small, amounting to approximately 650 individuals.

611. Second, we recognized that if this area were not omitted from a bilingual district, it would have been possible to recommend the establishment of one continuous bilingual district along the north shore of the Ottawa River from Deux-Montagnes to Pontiac. However, we did not see that there would be any particular advantage to such a large district. The region did not have any common identity or character, nor did the minority in it form a unified group with a community of interest. Furthermore, since the large area had two major poles, the National Capital Region and Montreal, we thought that it was more sensible to recommend two bilingual districts, each of which would have its own neighbouring metropolitan federal service centre.

612. Although the Board did not hold any consultations in Papineau, we were able to consult with one elected representative. He agreed with our conclusion. He was firmly opposed to the concept of one large district and supported our proposal to include the eastern area of Papineau in the bilingual district of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes and the western portion in the district of Gatineau—Pontiac.

613. Consequently, as we have mentioned previously,²⁰ we decided that the census subdivisions of Namur and Ponsonby in the east of Papineau county should be attached to the bilingual district of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes.

614. We are now recommending that the following census subdivisions in the west of Papineau be incorporated within the bilingual district of Gatineau—Pontiac, namely: Bowman, Lochaber partie-ouest, Mayo, Mulgrave & Derry and Val-des-Bois. In order to make the boundary of this district entirely contiguous with the boundary of the National Capital Region, we also recommend the inclusion within Gatineau—Pontiac of the parts of the five enumeration areas which lay between some of these census subdivisions and the National Capital Region. The total population of the areas in Papineau thus included within the bilingual district of Gatineau—Pontiac was 3,745 persons, of whom 1,000, or 26.7 per cent, were of English mother tongue.

Recommendation

615. **The Board unanimously recommends the establishment of a bilingual district called Gatineau—Pontiac, to be composed of the portions of the counties of Gatineau, Pontiac, and Papineau described above.**

5. Huntingdon—Compton

a. description

the bilingual district of Huntingdon-Compton consists of the census subdivisions of Adamsville, Austin, Bolton-Est, Bolton-Ouest, Potton, St-Etienne-de-Bolton and Sutton, the towns of Bromont, Lac-Brome and Sutton, and the villages of Abercorn, Adamsville, Brome, East Farnham and Eastman, in the census division of Brome; the census subdivisions of St-Malachie-d'Ormstown and Très-Saint-Sacrement, and the villages of Howick and Ormstown, in the census division of Châteauguay; the census subdivisions of Bury, Clifton partie est, Compton, Compton Station, Eaion, Hampden, Lingwick and Newport, the towns of Cookshire, Scottstown and Waterville and the villages of Compton and Sawyerville, in the census division of Compton; the census subdivision of Milan, in the census division of Frontenac; the census subdivisions of Dundee, Elgin, Franklin, Godmanchester, Havelock, Hemmingford, Hinchinbrook and St-Anicet, the town of Huntingdon, and the village of Hemmingford, in the census division of Huntingdon; the census subdivisions of Bedford, Dunham, Frelighsburg, St-Armand-Ouest, St-Georges-de-Clarenceville, St-Ignace-de-Stanbridge, St-Thomas, Stanbridge, Stan-

²⁰ *Supra*, paragraph 531, p. 83.

bridge Station and Venise-en-Québec, the towns of Bedford and Cowansville, and the villages of Clarenceville, Dunham, Frelighsburg and Philippsburg, in the census division of Missisquoi; the census subdivisions of Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel and St-Bernard-de-Lacolle, and the village of Lacolle, in the census division of St-Jean; the census subdivisions of St-Joachim-de-Shefford, Shefford and Stukely-Sud, the town of Waterloo, and the villages of Stukely-Sud and Warden, in the census division of Shefford; the census subdivision of Ascot, and the town of Lennoxville, in the census division of Sherbrooke; the census subdivisions of Barnston, Barnston-Ouest, Hatley, Hatley partie ouest, Ogden, Ste-Catherine-de-Hatley, St-Mathieu-de-Dixville, Stanstead and Stanstead-Est, the town of Rock Island, and the villages of Ayer's Cliff, Beebe Plain, Dixville, Hatley, North Hatley and Stanstead Plain, in the census division of Stanstead; the census subdivision of Dudswell, and the villages of Bishopton and Marbleton, in the census division of Wolfe.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English	percentage
Brome, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Adamsville.....	1,410	410	29.1
Austin.....	1,060	485	45.8
Bolton-Est.....	465	360	77.4
Bolton-Ouest.....	520	410	78.8
Potter.....	1,660	885	53.3
St-Etienne-de-Bolton.....	305	70	23.0
Sutton.....	950	605	63.7
towns			
Bromont.....	1,090	210	19.3
Lac-Brome.....	4,060	2,705	66.6
Sutton.....	1,685	830	49.3
villages			
Abercorn.....	370	145	39.2
Adamsville.....	495	45	9.1
Brome.....	295	230	78.0
East Farnham.....	360	210	58.3
Eastman.....	525	95	18.1
Châteauguay, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
St-Malachie-d'Ormstown.....	2,035	805	39.6
Très-Saint-Sacrement.....	1,445	845	58.5
villages			
Howick.....	575	285	49.6
Ormstown.....	1,520	710	46.7

division—subdivision	total	English	percentage
Compton, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Bury.....	1,145	680	59.4
Clifton, partie est.....	425	100	23.5
Compton.....	810	165	20.4
Compton Station.....	825	120	14.5
Eaton.....	1,595	640	40.1
Hampden.....	160	25	15.6
Lingwick.....	610	75	12.3
Newport.....	855	435	50.9
towns			
Cookshire.....	1,485	280	18.9
Scotstown.....	920	200	21.7
Waterville.....	1,480	430	29.1
villages			
Compton.....	505	55	10.9
Sawyerville.....	865	440	50.9
Frontenac, division (pt)			
subdivision			
Milan.....	270	35	13.0
Huntingdon, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Dundee.....	480	250	52.1
Elgin.....	455	275	60.4
Franklin.....	1,160	320	27.6
Godmanchester.....	1,885	960	50.9
Havelock.....	660	335	50.8
Hemmingford.....	1,675	825	49.3
Hinchinbrook.....	1,910	1,330	69.6
St-Anicet.....	1,725	265	15.4
town			
Huntingdon.....	3,090	1,085	35.1
village			
Hemmingford.....	810	390	48.1
Missisquoi, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Bedford.....	595	205	34.5
Dunham.....	1,735	585	33.7
Frelighsburg.....	690	140	20.3
St-Armand-Ouest.....	945	305	32.3
St-Georges-de-Clarenceville.....	555	235	42.3
St-Ignace-de-Stanbridge.....	835	140	16.8
St-Thomas.....	540	230	42.6
Stanbridge.....	885	575	65.0
Stanbridge Station.....	415	55	13.3
Venise-en-Québec.....	505	80	15.8
towns			
Bedford.....	2,785	645	23.2
Cowansville.....	11,920	2,190	18.4
villages			
Clarenceville.....	340	200	58.8
Dunham.....	485	110	22.7
Frelighsburg.....	345	45	13.0
Philippsburg.....	390	150	38.5
Saint-Jean, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel.....	990	150	15.2
St-Bernard-de-Lacolle.....	1,400	250	17.9
village			
Lacolle.....	1,255	175	13.9

division—subdivision	total	English	percent- age
Shefford, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
St-Joachim-de-Shefford.....	915	120	13.1
Shefford.....	1,745	410	23.5
Stukely-Sud.....	470	80	17.0
town			
Waterloo.....	4,935	1,065	21.6
villages			
Stukely-Sud.....	390	175	44.9
Warden.....	385	80	20.8
Sherbrooke, division (pt)			
subdivision			
Ascot.....	4,320	1,550	35.9
town			
Lennoxville.....	3,860	2,790	72.3
Stanstead, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Barnston.....	1,350	140	10.4
Barnston-Ouest.....	600	175	29.2
Hatley.....	575	390	67.8
Hatley, partie ouest..	440	265	60.2
Ogden.....	775	555	71.6
Ste-Catherine-de-Hatley.....	985	110	11.2
St-Mathieu-de-Dixville.....	300	45	15.0
Stanstead.....	720	430	59.7
Stanstead-Est.....	810	380	46.9
town			
Rock Island.....	1,340	760	56.7
villages			
Ayer's Cliff.....	875	615	70.3
Beebe Plain.....	1,235	565	45.7
Dixville.....	550	240	43.6
Hatley.....	215	185	86.0
North Hatley.....	725	520	71.7
Stanstead Plain.....	1,195	580	48.5
Wolfe, division (pt)			
subdivision			
Dudswell.....	620	115	18.5
villages			
Bishopston.....	335	115	34.3
Marbleton.....	615	55	8.9
total.....	105,515	39,030	37.0

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Huntingdon—Compton is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Beauharnois—Salaberry, Brome—Missisquoi, Compton, Richmond, Saint-Jean, Shefford and Sherbrooke; it is located in part of the provincial electoral districts of Brome—Missisquoi, Huntingdon, Iberville, Mégantic—Compton, Orford, Saint-François, Saint-Jean and Shefford.

Details

616. The bilingual district recommended by the Board is comprised of parts of 11 counties which form one continuous area located to the south and the south-east of metropolitan Montreal, extending along the border of the United States from the St. Lawrence River to slightly beyond the junction of Compton and Frontenac counties. In 1971 this area possessed a total population of 105,515 persons, of whom 39,030, or 37.0 per cent, were of English mother tongue. The proposed bilingual district contains most, but not all, of the census subdivisions in this southern portion of Quebec which in 1971 had an English mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent.

617. We shall explain the factors which led us to select this particular area as a bilingual district by reviewing in succession the relevant circumstances in each of the 11 counties of which parts have been included in the proposed district. Before commencing the review, however, we shall discuss a prior question that had to be resolved.

Question of Extent

618. Confronted by the rather extensive area in southern Quebec that qualified as a bilingual district, the Board had to decide whether it should recommend one large bilingual district encompassing the entire area or perhaps two or more smaller districts within the region.

619. We shall not repeat here our previous general discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of larger and smaller districts.²¹ In practice, when we arrived at making specific decisions, we chose in some instances to recommend small districts and in some other instances to recommend large districts. The particular factors involved in the individual case usually were the most influential in determining our specific decision, apart from one consideration, namely, the position of French-speaking minorities.

620. As we have explained previously,²² we had noted that French-speaking minorities had often not received as many federal services in their language as English-speaking minorities had customarily received in their language. We therefore had concluded that it would be advisable to attempt to eradicate the discrepancy and redress the imbalance by applying differ-

²¹ See *supra*, Part I, paragraphs 129-135, pp. 21-22.

²² *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 103-104, pp. 17-18, paragraphs 212-220, pp. 32-33, and paragraphs 249-250, pp. 37-38.

ent criteria on occasion when recommending bilingual districts. One variation might have been to propose more extensive districts where the French-speaking minority was concerned, in order to include a greater number of the Francophone minority within a bilingual district, while recommending less expansive districts for English-speaking minorities.

621. Although this line of reasoning did affect some of our decisions, we did not adopt it as a rigid principle that excluded other important considerations. We tried to be practical, tempering a concern for equity with common sense. Thus, in Quebec we have preferred to recommend in two instances more extensive, rather than less extensive, districts for the English-speaking minority, namely, in Gaspé—Bonaventure and in Huntingdon—Compton, while in two other areas, Argen-teuil—Deux-Montagnes and Gatineau—Pontiac, we chose to recommend smaller areas rather than larger areas.

One or More Districts

622. In the case of Huntingdon—Compton, there were several possibilities. Because there were at least three identifiable regions in the area,²³ we might have proposed three bilingual districts. One might have been located in the Châteauguay Valley region, another in the region south-east of Montreal where Cowansville and Granby were the major service centres, and a third in the Eastern Townships where Sherbrooke tended to be the service centre. A second possibility was to recommend two bilingual districts, one in the vicinity of Châteauguay Valley and the other containing all of the eligible areas in the region south-east of Montreal and in the Eastern Townships. The third option was to propose one bilingual district for the entire region.

623. After visiting a number of localities in the area and consulting residents, and after a great deal of study and discussion, we decided to recommend one district. Although the residents whom we met identified themselves with the smaller areas rather than with the larger region, we concluded that on balance it was preferable to favour the more extensive territory.

²³ Since we encountered some difference of opinion as to precisely which counties comprised the Eastern Townships, we adopted the following descriptive terms for the counties we dealt with: "Châteauguay Valley" to include the counties of Châteauguay and Huntingdon, "south-east of Montreal" to include the counties of St-Jean, Missisquoi, Brome, and Shefford, and "Eastern Townships" to include the counties of Stanstead, Sherbrooke, Compton, Wolfe, and Frontenac.

624. The case seemed to us to be analogous to the situation in Gaspé—Bonaventure. We could not see that there was any compelling advantage to the establishment of two or three smaller bilingual districts which would be virtually contiguous. On the other hand, there were several advantages to the larger area. Because many members of the minority dwelt in rural localities and pursued the same occupation of farming, a single district might foster their cohesion and give them a greater sense of security. It also might emphasize the existence of the minority since the figure for the total of the minority in the large area would be greater, of course, than the figure for the minority in any smaller district.

625. Having decided to recommend the extensive area, the Board examined the possible components. Most of them were located south and east of the census metropolitan area of Montreal and south of the census agglomeration of Sherbrooke, for both of which we are recommending the provision of bilingual federal services by another means. Taking each of the 11 counties in turn, we shall review the factors that led us to propose the inclusion in the district of the selected portions.

Huntingdon

626. Situated in the south-west extremity of the region, Huntingdon county had in 1971 a total population of 15,360 persons, of whom 6,050, or 39.4 per cent, were of English mother tongue. Since every census subdivision in the county except Ste-Barbe and an Indian reserve contained an English mother tongue population that exceeded ten per cent by very substantial proportions in all but one instance, we believed that we should include within the district almost all of the county.

627. A team of Board members visited the area and consulted in the town of Huntingdon with a number of local residents, including some elected officials and persons belonging to each official language group. We found that there were approximately half a dozen federal departments or agencies represented in the town and that they had provided their services customarily in both English and French. We received no complaints about the supply of bilingual federal services. We were advised that relations between the two language groups were amicable, that the town was proud of its bilingual character, and that the local populace would favour the establishment of a bilingual district.

628. The Board therefore had no hesitation in deciding that all of Huntingdon county, except the Indian

reserve and the census subdivision of Ste-Barbe which had only 20 persons of English mother tongue, should be included within a bilingual district. In 1971 the minority within the area which we included amounted to 6,035 persons, or 43.6 per cent of the total population of this area.

Châteauguay

629. Châteauguay county extends north from Huntingdon county to Lac St-Louis. Although in 1971 Châteauguay county possessed an English mother tongue aggregate amounting to 17,875 individuals, or 33.3 per cent of the total population, 14,795 of the minority resided in the four towns of Châteauguay, Châteauguay-Centre, Léry, and Mercier, all of which were part of the census metropolitan area of Montreal.

630. A meeting held by the Board in Châteauguay-Centre and attended by local residents and civic officials revealed that the population had increased rapidly in recent years when the area had grown up as a dormitory suburb of Montreal. It was estimated that approximately 80 per cent of the work force living in the town was employed in Montreal. There were very few federal offices located in Châteauguay-Centre. Residents obtained their federal services in Montreal. They also identified themselves with Montreal rather than with the southern portion of the county.

631. We gathered from further questioning that the circumstances which prevailed in Châteauguay-Centre were characteristic of the other three towns in the vicinity. Since it seemed so apparent that the area was functionally a part of metropolitan Montreal, we concluded that it was proper to deal with it as it was classified, namely, as a portion of the census metropolitan area of Montreal. We therefore omitted from the proposed bilingual district the towns of Châteauguay, Châteauguay-Centre, Léry, and Mercier.

632. The Board also visited the southern portion of Châteauguay county, holding a consultation in Ormstown. The meeting was well attended by residents of the area, including members of each official language group and civic officials from both Ormstown and the nearby village of Howick.

633. We found that this part of the county was remarkably different from the northern portion despite their proximity. The southern sector was predominantly agrarian, long-settled, stable, and traditionally bilingual. In Ormstown and Howick the proportions of the two official mother tongue groups were almost evenly

balanced, consisting of approximately 50 per cent each. All of the residents whom we met were fluently bilingual and the relations between the two language groups seemed to be unusually harmonious and pleasant. There were no complaints about a lack of services in English or French in the few federal offices which were located in Ormstown and Howick.

634. We came away from this area with the same impression that we had gained in Huntingdon, namely, that the Châteauguay Valley region, which contained both the southern part of Châteauguay county and Huntingdon county, was one of the most genuinely bilingual areas in Canada, almost a model.

635. We had no hesitation in deciding to include most of the southern portion of the county in a bilingual district. We thought, however, that we should exclude those census subdivisions in the county which had a very small number of persons of English mother tongue or less than ten per cent of the minority. Some of these subdivisions were in the northern part of the county adjacent to the area which had been omitted from the district because it was within the census metropolitan area of Montreal.

636. Thus, to sum up, the Board recommends that the following portions of Châteauguay county be included in the bilingual district: the two census subdivisions of St-Malachie-d'Ormstown and Très-Saint-Sacrement and the two villages of Howick and Ormstown. In 1971 these four localities had an English mother tongue aggregate of 2,645 persons, amounting to 47.4 per cent of the total population in the included area.

St-Jean

637. St-Jean county is located on the American border immediately to the east of Huntingdon county. In 1971 St-Jean did not qualify by itself as a bilingual district since it had an English mother tongue minority amounting to only 7.4 per cent of the total population. Moreover, approximately two-thirds of the 3,415 members of the minority resided in the city of St-Jean, which was located close to the census metropolitan area of Montreal and considerably north of the area that we were contemplating as a bilingual district.

638. The Board seriously considered not recommending the inclusion within a bilingual district of any of the portions of St-Jean county. There were three reasons. First, there were only five census subdivisions in the county which had an English mother tongue population amounting to ten per cent. Second, the number of

the minority in each of these subdivisions was small, totalling altogether only 830 persons. Three, there were few, if any, federal services in these subdivisions since they were predominantly rural.

639. If we had decided to recommend two or three bilingual districts instead of one, we likely would have excluded any part of St-Jean from a district. The Board considered this possibility when we contemplated, as previously noted, the advisability of recommending a bilingual district in the Châteauguay Valley region to the west of St-Jean and an additional one or two districts to the east of St-Jean. However, since we had decided to propose one large district, it was necessary to include a portion of St-Jean to link the counties of Huntingdon and Châteauguay to the eastern area.

640. Inasmuch as we recognized that the selected portion of St-Jean was a geographical link rather than an area in which many federal services would be provided, we decided to minimize the part of St-Jean that was included. Thus, we recommend the inclusion in the bilingual district of only the following areas in St-Jean: the census subdivisions of Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel and St-Bernard-de-Lacolle and the village of Lacolle.

641. We propose the omission of the two additional census subdivisions in St-Jean which had an English mother tongue minority of at least ten per cent. The two excluded subdivisions, St-Blaise and St-Paul-de-l'Île-aux-Noix, protruded rather irregularly to the north, and moreover, had a total minority population which amounted to only 255 persons. In contrast, the three portions of St-Jean whose inclusion we recommend formed a compact link in the south and had a minority population totalling 575 individuals, amounting to 15.8 per cent.

Missisquoi

642. The county of Missisquoi is located immediately to the east of the county of St-Jean. In 1971 Missisquoi possessed an English mother tongue minority amounting to 6,635 persons, or 19.5 per cent of the total population of 33,955.

643. A team of Board members consulted with local officials and members of each official language group in Cowansville, the largest centre of population in the county. We were told that Cowansville had approximately half a dozen federal facilities and that there were no complaints about obtaining federal services in English as well as in French. We also found that Cowansville was a model city in several respects. Not only was it exceedingly well planned and well devel-

oped, but it was so advanced in its bilingual practices that the Roman Catholic and Protestant school boards had combined their French and English secondary schools in one building, which also served the area. A leading civic authority expressed strongly his conviction that Cowansville should be included in a bilingual district. There was no dissent from this view by the other residents present at the meeting.

644. After subsequent discussion, the Board concluded that Cowansville and all those localities within Missisquoi which possessed an English mother tongue group amounting to at least ten per cent should be incorporated within the bilingual district that we were recommending. The effect of this decision was to include within the district 16 of the 21 census subdivisions, towns, and villages in the county.

645. We shall not list here the localities which have been included since they are too numerous and since they have already been noted in the geostatistical description of this bilingual district contained in sections (a) and (b) above.²¹ We can summarize the significance of our recommendation by remarking that it would mean that about 89 per cent of the English mother tongue population in Missisquoi would be included within the bilingual district. The total number of the minority included was 5,890 persons, who amounted to 24.6 per cent of the population of this part of Missisquoi.

Brome

646. Brome county adjoins the eastern boundary of Missisquoi county. In 1971 Brome was one of the two counties in Quebec which had an English mother tongue majority. There were 7,690 persons of English mother tongue, amounting to 50.2 per cent of the total population of 15,310.

647. A delegation from the Board consulted in the former village of Knowlton, now the town of Lac-Brome, with some residents and elected representatives, among whom were members of each official language group. We found that Brome had very few federal facilities but that those which existed seemed to provide satisfactory services in both English or French. No pronounced views were expressed either in favour of a bilingual district or against it. During the decade from 1961 to 1971 the English mother tongue population of Brome had grown by 7.2 per cent, but this increase was less than the growth of the French

²¹ *Supra*, pp. 95-97.

mother tongue population which amounted to 18.4 per cent. However, the actual number of persons constituting the increase in each case was relatively small, amounting to approximately 500 Anglophones and 1,100 Francophones.

648. Since the members of the English mother tongue group were distributed in substantial percentages throughout almost every locality in the county, the Board decided to recommend that all of the county should be included within the proposed bilingual district, except St-Benoît-du-Lac, which was a monastery comprised of 65 persons, of whom none was of English mother tongue. Thus, the total population of the part of Brome which was included in the district was 15,245, of whom 7,690 persons, or 50.4 per cent, were of English mother tongue.

Shefford

649. Shefford county is located immediately to the north of Brome county. In 1971 Shefford had an English mother tongue minority amounting to 4,605 persons, or 7.4 per cent of the total population. Although the county as a whole therefore possessed less than the proportion of the minority required for a bilingual district, there were six census subdivisions in the county in which the minority exceeded ten per cent. Despite the fact that the total of the English mother tongue group in the six localities had declined by 3.6 per cent since 1961 while the French mother tongue group had increased by 10.6 per cent in the same decade, the minority still amounted in 1971 to 1,930 persons, or 21.8 per cent of the total population in the area.

650. Since the minority was substantial and since the six localities in which it resided formed a cohesive unit that was contiguous with Brome county, a strong majority of the Board decided that all six localities should be included within the proposed bilingual district. The six recommended localities are the following: the three census subdivisions of St-Joachim-de-Shefford, Shefford, and Stukely-Sud, the town of Waterloo, and the two villages of Stukely-Sud and Warden.

Stanstead

651. The county of Stanstead is situated immediately to the east of Brome county. In 1971 Stanstead had an English mother tongue minority amounting to 7,935 individuals, or 21.9 per cent of the total population. However, the minority was not distributed uniformly throughout the county. In the 23 census subdivisions

comprising the county, the English mother tongue populations varied from 86.0 per cent to zero. There were, however, 17 census subdivisions in which the minority amounted by mother tongue to at least ten per cent, usually exceeding that proportion very substantially.

652. Since these 17 localities formed a cohesive area within Stanstead county that was adjacent to Brome county and accounted for approximately three-quarters of all the English mother tongue residents of Stanstead, the Board decided to recommend the inclusion of all but one of the localities within the proposed bilingual district. The one eligible locality which was omitted was the rural census subdivision of Magog. A majority of the Board decided to exclude it because it almost entirely encircled the city of Magog which was omitted from the bilingual district since it possessed an English mother tongue minority amounting to less than ten per cent. There were, in any event, only 385 persons of English mother tongue in the excluded rural subdivision of Magog.

653. The sixteen census subdivisions which the Board recommends including in the bilingual district are too numerous to repeat here. They are listed in the geostatistical descriptions of this district presented in sections (a) and (b) above.²⁵ In 1971 the aggregate of the English mother tongue residents in these 16 localities was 5,955, which amounted to 46.9 per cent of the total population of this part of Stanstead.

Sherbrooke

654. Sherbrooke county is located immediately to the north of Stanstead county. In 1971 Sherbrooke county had an English mother tongue minority amounting to 11,130 persons, or 11.0 per cent of the total population. Since the aggregate of the minority was very substantial and since its proportion exceeded the required ten per cent, the Board's first impression was that the entire county might be included within a bilingual district. However, after studying the facts more closely and after holding consultations in the area, the Board decided not to make this recommendation.

655. There were a number of complications in the area. First, the official language minority was not distributed uniformly throughout the county. In fact, the minority was concentrated almost entirely in one relatively small sector. Thus, the rural census subdivision of Ascot contained 1,550 persons of English mother tongue while the adjacent town of Lennoxville had

²⁵ *Supra*, pp. 95-97.

another 2,790 members of the same group and the neighbouring city of Sherbrooke possessed an additional 6,120 individuals of English mother tongue.

656. Together, these three localities in the one vicinity possessed approximately 94 per cent of the minority in the county. Five of the six remaining census subdivisions in the county had a minority amounting in total to only 525 persons and constituting *in toto* and in each part considerably less than ten per cent. The sixth subdivision, which was Orford, will be discussed separately subsequently.

657. Second, although the number of the minority had increased slightly since 1961 in some of the subdivisions, such as Ascot and Lennoxville, the increase in the minority was substantially less than the growth in the number of the majority. Moreover, in the major centre of population in the county, the city of Sherbrooke, the minority had actually declined by 866 during the decade from 1961 to 1971 while the majority had grown by 14,879.

658. As a consequence of these changes, the minority had in fact decreased in the county as a whole, both in total number and in proportion. While the diminution in the aggregate was small, the decrease in percentage terms was large since the French mother tongue population had grown so much. Thus the proportion of English mother tongue residents of the county had declined from 14.1 per cent in 1961 to 11.0 per cent in 1971. Since there were few persons of other than French or English mother tongue in the county, the proportion of French mother tongue individuals increased during the decade by almost the equivalent amount, from 84.7 per cent to 87.9 per cent.

Findings

659. A team of Board members visited the county, holding four consultations, one of which was in Lennoxville and three in Sherbrooke. The meeting in Lennoxville was attended by about 25 residents of the area, including a preponderance of members of the minority mother tongue and a number of educators and prominent local citizens. Two of the meetings in Sherbrooke were attended by members of the majority mother tongue, including educators, educational officials, and representatives of community organizations. The final meeting consisted of a consultation with an elected municipal official in Sherbrooke.

660. We found that most major federal government offices were located in the city of Sherbrooke, which was the service centre not only for the county but

apparently for most of the Eastern Townships. Contradictory opinions were expressed at our meetings about whether the bilingual services provided by some of these offices were satisfactory. Since we had no way of determining the accuracy of these statements, we cannot give any verdict. For the same reason we are unable to pass judgement upon the claims made by some representatives of each language group that members of their mother tongue affiliation had encountered discrimination when seeking federal employment locally.

661. Language was a very sensitive issue in this area. It provoked the expression of some very strong sentiments among certain members of each language group attending our meetings.

662. A number of the minority, for example, evinced a good deal of apprehension about the position of Anglophones in the province. Their anxieties pertained especially to matters under provincial jurisdiction. At the meeting attended chiefly by persons of English mother tongue, there was an unanimous opinion in favour of the establishment of a bilingual district, inclusive of the city of Sherbrooke, although some present were more firmly convinced than others of the actual need for a district. The essential point on which all were agreed was that federal services should be provided in English as well as in French. Some of those present also preferred a separate bilingual district for the area, rather than one large district for the region.

663. When we consulted with the French mother tongue groups, we received an equally overwhelming but more vociferous opinion that was opposed to the establishment of a bilingual district. The anxiety in this case was that the creation of a district would increase the deleterious pressures upon the French language. One participant stated that almost all of the other nine provinces were essentially unilingual English while Quebec was expected to be bilingual rather than unilingual French. Noting the previous disparity between the provision of English and French federal services throughout the county, another participant asserted that bilingual districts might be necessary elsewhere to rectify the imbalance but that they were unnecessary in Quebec where federal services were provided customarily in English. One person present expressed the view that there would be less opposition to bilingual districts in Quebec if the majority clearly understood that the function of districts was simply to ensure the provision of federal services to the minority in its own language.

664. The acuteness in the difference of opinions which we had received from the majority and minority

language groups was moderated somewhat when we consulted with an elected official in Sherbrooke since he was optimistic that there would be no great public reaction to the establishment of a bilingual district. However, we still believed that there was so much public disagreement on the subject of a district that we should consider the options further.

Possible Inclusion of Orford

665. One aspect which we explored was the possibility of including within a bilingual district the census subdivision of Orford. This subdivision was the only locality in Sherbrooke county which, in addition to Ascot and Lennoxville, had in 1971 an English mother tongue minority amounting to at least ten per cent.

666. After discussing the question thoroughly on more than one occasion, the Board decided not to recommend the inclusion of the census subdivision of Orford within a bilingual district since, despite the fact that the proportion of the minority amounted to 30.3 per cent, the total number of the minority in this rather extensive area was only 150 persons. Moreover, inasmuch as Orford was a rural census subdivision, it seemed likely that there were few, if any, federal services in the area.

Decision

667. Having examined the question of Sherbrooke county at great length, a strong majority of the Board concluded that it was advisable to recommend that the census subdivision of Ascot and the town of Lennoxville should be included within the proposed bilingual district but that the city of Sherbrooke should be dealt with under our supplementary recommendation for the provision of bilingual federal services in large urban centres.²⁶

668. Bearing in mind the evidence we had received, we thought that our decision was practical. Since Ascot and Lennoxville were the only two census subdivisions in the county which had an English mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent, except Orford which has already been discussed, we believed that Ascot and Lennoxville should be included in a bilingual district. On the other hand, since the city of Sherbrooke had an English mother tongue population amounting to only 7.6 per cent and since it was a large

municipality of 80,710 persons, we believed that it might be excluded from a bilingual district and be provided with bilingual federal services in the same manner as certain other large urban centres.

669. In 1971 Ascot and Lennoxville together had an English mother tongue aggregate amounting to 4,340 persons, or 53.1 per cent of the total population of the area.

Compton

670. The county of Compton is located immediately to the east of Sherbrooke and Stanstead counties. Since Compton had in 1971 an English mother tongue minority amounting to 4,215 persons or 19.7 per cent of the total population, the entire county was eligible to be recommended as a bilingual district.

671. However, we were deterred from making this recommendation because of two considerations. First, the minority was not distributed uniformly throughout the county. In general, the Anglophones tended to be concentrated in the north-western portion of the county where in one census subdivision their proportion of the population reached a maximum of 59.4 per cent. At the same time the French mother tongue residents of the county were especially preponderant in the south-eastern part of the county where in three census subdivisions they accounted for 100 per cent of the population. The Board did not believe that such unilingual areas should be included in a bilingual district.

672. Second, since there did not appear to be many federal governmental services in the county, we concluded that it was less important than it might otherwise have been to try to include in a bilingual district the whole of the county. Third, while the total population of the county had declined considerably from 1961 to 1971, the decrease in the English mother tongue group was appreciably greater than the decline in the French mother tongue group.

673. For these reasons the Board decided that it would be sensible to include within the proposed bilingual district those census subdivisions in Compton which had a minority mother tongue group amounting to at least ten per cent and to exclude those census subdivisions which were overwhelmingly of French mother tongue.

674. We have followed that principle except in two instances where the locations of the census subdivisions made consistency difficult. The two census subdivisions involved were Hereford and Westbury, which each had

²⁶ For the specific recommendation, see *infra*, Part III, especially paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176. For our reasoning on the subject in general, see *supra*, Part I, paragraphs 187-201, pp. 29-31.

an English mother tongue population in excess of ten per cent. However, Hereford was isolated in the southern extremity of the county by an intervening census subdivision that had a population which was 100 per cent of French mother tongue, while Westbury contained the town of East Angus which had a minority amounting to only 8.0 per cent. When combined, Westbury and East Angus possessed an English mother tongue group attaining only 8.5 per cent. We therefore decided to omit Hereford, Westbury and East Angus. Since the minority population in each was very small, only 525 persons of English mother tongue in total were affected by this exclusion.

675. To sum up, the Board recommends the inclusion within the proposed bilingual district of 13 of the 24 census subdivisions comprising the county of Compton. The 13 subdivisions are listed in the geostatistical descriptions of this district given in sections (a) and (b) above.²⁷ In 1971 the English mother tongue residents of the portions of Compton included in the bilingual district amounted to 3,645 persons, or 31.2 per cent of the total population of this area.

Wolfe

676. The county of Wolfe adjoins the north-western boundary of Compton county. In 1971 Wolfe had an English mother tongue minority amounting to 395 persons, or only 2.4 per cent of the total population. However, since 285 of the minority, or more than 72 per cent of the total group, lived in three census subdivisions which were contiguous with Compton county and since the proportion of the minority in these three census subdivisions amounted to 18.2 per cent, the Board decided that they should be included within the proposed bilingual district. We thereby included all of the census subdivisions in Wolfe which had an English mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent, and also all the additional members of the minority who could be incorporated within a continuous district.

677. The Board therefore recommends that the census subdivision of Dudswell and the villages of Bishopton and Marbleton in the county of Wolfe be included within the bilingual district.

Frontenac

678. The county of Frontenac is situated immediately to the east of Compton county. In 1971 Frontenac had

only 280 persons of English mother tongue, amounting to 1.0 per cent of the population. However, one census subdivision within Frontenac contained at least ten per cent of the minority and since this subdivision was contiguous with Compton county, we decided that it should be attached to the proposed bilingual district. The relevant census subdivision was Milan, which in 1971 had 35 persons of English mother tongue, amounting to 13.0 per cent of the population. The Board therefore recommends that the census subdivision of Milan in Frontenac county be included within the proposed bilingual district.

Recommendation

679. **The Board recommends by a majority vote the establishment of a bilingual district named Huntingdon—Compton, to be composed of the parts of the 11 counties described above.**

Large Urban Centres For Which Bilingual Services Are Recommended under Sections 9(2) and 10

Explanation

680. It will be recalled that in Part I of our report we noted that a number of authorities had expressed concern about the need to provide bilingual federal services in large urban centres which did not qualify as bilingual districts because the mother tongue minority residing within them did not amount to at least ten per cent.²⁸ We explained the reasoning which led us to propose that such services should be provided under Sections 9 (2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act when the urban centre contained at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the area.²⁹ We concluded that this proposal should be accompanied by a recommendation that the same two Sections of the Act should be utilized to provide bilingual federal services in all provincial capitals.³⁰

681. The specific recommendations which we shall make in regard to these two matters will be presented formally in Part III of this report, entitled Supplementary Recommendations.³¹

682. When we outlined our proposal for the furnishing of bilingual federal services in large urban centres throughout Canada, we noted that the list of localities

²⁷ See *supra*, pp. 95-97.

²⁸ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 168-174, pp. 26-27.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Part I, paragraphs 187-201, pp. 29-31.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Part I, paragraphs 202-211, pp. 31-32.

³¹ *Infra*, Part III, paragraphs 1156-1160, p. 176.

thus provided for would include Quebec city and Sherbrooke.³² We also suggested that for a number of reasons a majority of the Board concluded that the census metropolitan area of Montreal should be dealt with in the same manner.³³ Thus, when we present our formal supplementary recommendation on the subject of large urban centres, Quebec city, Sherbrooke, and Montreal will be included in the proposal.³⁴

683. Even if Quebec city had not qualified to be included within the group of large urban centres, it would have been contained, of course, within the list of provincial capitals for which we are proposing the provision of bilingual federal services by our second supplementary recommendation.³⁵

684. Although we have discussed previously at several points the general considerations which influenced the Board's choice of methods for providing bilingual federal services in the province of Quebec, especially in Montreal,³⁶ we believe that it is necessary here to complete the analysis by reviewing the statistics and evidence which have not already been presented for Montreal, Sherbrooke, and Quebec city.

(1) Montreal

685. The Board spent a great deal of time examining and discussing the case of Montreal. We studied the relevant data very carefully, in particular the distribution of language groups, and we visited the metropolitan region on several occasions, holding a number of consultations with various groups and individuals.

686. We noted that there were several possibilities in regard to Montreal, but also a number of problems. First, since there were several different geographical areas associated with the name Montreal, we had to decide which area was most appropriate to the purpose of providing federal bilingual services. We believed that we might select one of the following possibilities, in its entirety or in part: the city of Montreal, which was a single municipality occupying a relatively small area, or the Montreal Urban Community, which was a metropolis composed of 30 municipalities occupying a

much larger area that was almost identical to the island of Montreal, or the census metropolitan area of Montreal, which was a geostatistical region that was very much larger again in area, including not only Montreal and Jesus Islands but many localities on the nearby south and north shores.

687. Second, since each of these three regions possessed in 1971 an English language minority which was very sizable and amounted to at least ten per cent of the respective population,³⁷ it was possible to recommend any of them as a bilingual district. Third, alternatively, if the distribution of language populations within them permitted, it was conceivable that portions of these three areas might be recommended as bilingual districts. Fourth, any recommendation about districts would be affected by the actual location of federal offices within Montreal and the patterns of mobility of the residents in the entire region.

688. Finally, a decision to recommend one or several bilingual districts or none at all would depend on the evidence which we obtained from our visits to the area and from consultations with residents and elected representatives.

Visits and Consultations

689. Members of the Board visited the metropolitan Montreal region and held consultations on eight occasions. We obtained evidence and opinions from representatives of 12 organizations and from approximately one hundred persons, including members of both official language groups, community associations, business groups, educational officials, and elected representatives. In conformity with our practice elsewhere, we invited for consultation all members of Parliament whose constituencies were eligible to be included within a prospective bilingual district. Although a number of the 24 members of Parliament who were affected expressed a desire to consult with us, time permitted only eight to meet with us. We also consulted on two occasions with officials representing the government of Quebec.

Findings

690. We found that there were very few complaints, indeed next to none, about the provision of federal

³² *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 195-199, pp. 30-31.

³³ *Ibid.*, Part I, paragraph 200, p. 31, and paragraphs 226-242, pp. 34-36.

³⁴ *Infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendations, paragraphs 1156-1158, p. 176.

³⁵ *Supra*, Part I, paragraph 203, p. 31, and *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendations, paragraphs 1159-1160, p. 176.

³⁶ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 226-242, pp. 33-36, and Part II, paragraphs 466-488, pp. 74-77.

³⁷ In 1971 the city of Montreal had an English language mother tongue minority amounting to 184,870 persons, or 15.2 per cent of the population. The comparable figures for the Montreal Urban Community were 464,685 or 23.8 per cent, and for the census metropolitan area of Montreal 595,395, or 21.7 per cent.

government services in English in the Montreal area. We were struck by the fact that federal services seemed to have been supplied in English almost automatically as a matter of customary practice. On the other hand, we did receive several complaints about inadequate federal services in French.

691. Some respondents attributed the inadequacy of services in French to the fact that much of the process of work in federal institutions in Montreal had traditionally been conducted in English, particularly in higher levels of administration, in certain technical matters such as contractual specifications, and in relations with some headquarters in Ottawa. These grievances led a number of our interlocutors to assert that the prevailing language of work in the federal public service in Quebec should be French. This opinion was reiterated by almost all of the participants who spoke on the subject, including some Anglophones, although one English-speaking association was very opposed to the suggestion. Those who supported the concept believed that since English was the prevailing language of work in most federal government offices in English Canada, it was only just that French should be used in a similar fashion in Quebec.

692. There was a sharp diversity in views about whether a bilingual district was desirable in the Montreal area. Although some Anglophones were very outspoken in their support of a district, some other members of the same language group were either indifferent to the proposal or even opposed.

693. The Anglophones who urged a district were convinced that it was a matter of equity and that it was necessary to protect the rights of the minority. Some who were favourable believed that a district was appropriate because of the size of the minority, the tradition of bilingualism, and the fact that Montreal was a cosmopolitan and international city. The Anglophones who were indifferent maintained that a bilingual district was unnecessary since it would change nothing, inasmuch as federal services had been provided satisfactorily in English in the past and undoubtedly would continue to be supplied in the future. Those who were opposed were persuaded that a bilingual district would encourage the growth of a ghetto and augment dissension between the two language groups. The division of opinion among members of the official language minority was repeated by representatives of a smaller minority group, some of whom favoured the establishment of a district while at least one member opposed it. The one point on which all members of the English mother tongue minority agreed was that federal services

should continue to be provided in Montreal in English as well as in French by some means.

694. The degree to which language was a spirited issue was reflected in the vigour with which most French mother tongue respondents objected to the creation of a bilingual district. Although some Francophones favoured a district, the overwhelming majority of those whom we met were decisively opposed. The reason given most frequently was that a bilingual district would encourage the use of English and thereby diminish the use of French, which was already in danger in Montreal. A number of Francophones also asserted that there was no need for a district since services in English were provided habitually in federal offices in Montreal.

695. Replying to the argument that a district was required in Montreal in order to give an equal treatment to French and English minorities throughout Canada, some respondents noted that the English language had enjoyed a special status in Quebec which had not been shared historically by French elsewhere in the country. Since the two languages had not previously been on the same footing, these individuals took the view that the first requirement was to eradicate the discrepancy. One method might be to adopt different procedures. Thus, while it might be wise to create bilingual districts outside of Quebec to ensure services to French minorities, it would not be necessary to establish districts within Quebec since the English minority there had always received services in its language.

696. This opinion was reinforced by the argument that the creation of bilingual districts in English Canada would not threaten the survival of English since it was very secure, but that the establishment of districts in Quebec would increase the danger to French which was already vulnerable. Hence, it was asserted, a uniform policy in regard to bilingual districts should not be pursued throughout Canada. On the contrary, arrangements should vary, being adapted to local circumstances.

697. A number of participants in our meetings pointed out that in any event there would be several major problems involved in the delineation of a bilingual district or districts in the Montreal area.

698. One difficulty arose from the fact that the minority was not distributed uniformly throughout the metropolitan region. There were very large concentrations of the minority in some localities and very small percentages of the minority in other locations. Within the census subdivisions comprising the census metropolitan

area of Montreal, for instance, the English mother tongue population in 1971 varied from as little as 0.2 per cent to as much as 86.0 per cent. Conversely, the French mother tongue population in localities in the same area ranged from 100.0 per cent to 4.2 per cent. Thus, an extensive bilingual district, embracing, for example, the entire census metropolitan area of Montreal, would scarcely be suitable since in many of the localities the large concentrations of either English or French mother tongue persons would be disposed to want unilingual federal services rather than bilingual services.

699. The obvious solution to this problem appeared to be to propose a smaller bilingual district corresponding to the area of concentration of English mother tongue persons. At first glance, this arrangement seemed to be feasible since the English-speaking minority appeared to be concentrated in the western portion of Montreal Island while the French-speaking majority was particularly prominent in the east end of Montreal and on the north and south shores.

700. However, a more careful examination of the problem revealed that its elements were not that simple. There were several major difficulties. First, the members of the two official language populations were not as neatly divided into two regions as it would appear. Thus there were sizable concentrations of English mother tongue persons on the north and south shores, amounting to some thousands of individuals and constituting proportions as large as fifty per cent or more. At the same time, there were very substantial concentrations of French mother tongue individuals in the west end of Montreal Island, amounting again to many thousands of persons and constituting proportions of more than fifty per cent.

701. Second, this intermixture of the two language populations made it very difficult to draw a simple line between the two groups. We gathered that the Boulevard St-Laurent, which bisects Montreal Island, was traditionally regarded as the dividing line between the two language concentrations, but inspection of the facts showed that this assumption was dubious. There were very sizable French mother tongue populations in some localities to the west of "the Main", as the Boulevard is called. Outremont, for instance, had 16,415 persons of French mother tongue in 1971, comprising 57.5 per cent of the population, while Verdun, to take another example, had 46,195 French mother tongue residents, amounting to 61.8 per cent of the population.

702. Consequently, it was far from easy to delineate a coherent area within the Montreal region that would

be acceptable as a bilingual district inasmuch as it included all of the English mother tongue concentrations in the extensive census metropolitan area while at the same time it omitted the localities which were very heavily populated by residents of French mother tongue.

703. Third, we were discouraged from making the attempt by the overwhelming advice we received against selecting only a portion of Montreal as a bilingual district. It was the unanimous opinion of every person whom we consulted and who spoke on the subject that it would be a mistake to try to designate only certain parts of the Montreal region as a bilingual district or districts.

704. Fourth, a persuasive reason that was given more than once in support of this view was the fact that the numerous federal governmental offices in Montreal were dispersed throughout the census metropolitan area. Thus there was considerable risk that if a bilingual district were confined to certain areas within the region, many federal offices might not be located within the specified district and the purpose of creating a district would be defeated.

705. Finally, we were assured by several persons, including an authority on the subject, that the population of the Montreal region was so mobile that the entire area should be dealt with as one community, not subdivided into a bilingual district or districts.

706. When we consulted with the eight members of Parliament from the Montreal region who were able to meet with us, we found that all but one of them were very opposed to segmenting Montreal in any way to form a bilingual district. The exception was not interested in bilingual districts in general and expressed no opinion on dividing Montreal. Since the eight members of Parliament included persons of both English and French mother tongue and since their opposition to dividing Montreal was so emphatic and virtually unanimous, most members of our Board were greatly influenced by their opinion.

707. The members of Parliament were almost as completely in agreement that it was unnecessary and inadvisable to establish a bilingual district of any kind in Montreal. Six were opposed to a district, one was ambivalent, and one was in favour. The contradiction in opinions did not always reflect the difference in the members' mother tongues.

708. The MP who favoured a district argued his view strongly, asserting that it would be unthinkable not to create a bilingual district in Montreal, since it was not

only the largest and most bilingual city in Canada but also an international, cosmopolitan tourist centre.

709. The six members who were opposed to a district offered a number of reasons. Some believed it was unnecessary since a district would change little; the federal government had provided its services in Montreal in English and French in the past and undoubtedly would continue to do so in the future, whether or not there was a district. Others thought that the first concern was to preserve the French language in Montreal and that a bilingual district would be inimical to this objective. Another held that Montreal was a symbol of French culture and that Francophones would regard a bilingual district as a threat to the continuation of their culture. Endorsing this view and pointing out that Montreal was the only large city in Canada which could be recommended as a district, a member warned that the creation of a district would provoke anger and discord. Finally, one MP expressed the view that Montreal should be provided with bilingual federal services in the same manner as the other large urban centres in Canada, for which districts could not be recommended.

710. Whatever their views on a bilingual district, all of the MPs were completely in agreement that the federal government should continue to provide its services in both English and French in Montreal. Some also stated that work in the federal public service in Quebec should normally be conducted in French.

Position of Quebec Government

711. When we consulted with officials of the Quebec government, we were informed that the provincial government believed that matters pertaining to language were policy issues for Quebec to settle within its jurisdiction. The government spokesman held that since the various areas in Canada had different needs in regard to language, uniform federal legislation was inappropriate. Language matters should be determined in the first instance by provincial legislation and federal arrangements should conform to provincial and local needs. The government of Quebec was opposed to the creation of bilingual districts in the province, especially in Montreal. In its view bilingual districts were unnecessary in Quebec because the minority was already receiving satisfactory services in its own language. The selection of a portion of Montreal as a bilingual district would only increase antipathy and provoke even greater public dissension. We were left with the impression, however, that the provincial government was prepared to work out with the federal government some arrangement to safeguard the minority's use of its language.

Decisions

712. Having reviewed its findings and debated at great length the question of whether or not to recommend a bilingual district in Montreal, the Board arrived at several decisions. Since the decisions were not unanimous nor always identical in the degree of their support, we think it is useful to note briefly, while avoiding repetitious detail, the major points which influenced the Board in reaching its decisions.

713. The Board decided almost unanimously that it would not be advisable to recommend a bilingual district confined to a western portion of Montreal Island. We have already explained that it was difficult, because of the intermixture of the official language concentrations, to delineate satisfactorily a coherent district in this area.³⁸ We were also aware that if a bilingual district were established in this area, it would not include many of the federal governmental offices located in the Montreal region.³⁹ Finally, most of our members were greatly influenced by the overwhelming opinion of those who consulted with us that it would be a grave error to divide Montreal by creating a district in one part of it.⁴⁰

714. Some of our members, nevertheless, were in favour of proposing a bilingual district for some other area in the Montreal region, either for Montreal Island, or for Montreal and Jesus Islands, or for the entire census metropolitan area of Montreal. However, a majority of the Board was opposed to each of these suggestions.

715. The members who supported the establishment of one or another of the proposed bilingual districts in Montreal shared the view that a district should be recommended since each of the areas possessed a very large number of the minority amounting to a proportion that was well in excess of the required ten per cent.⁴¹ Some of these members had additional reasons to support their views. Their opinions are presented in the minority statements and reports which accompany this report.⁴²

716. The majority of members who opposed the establishment of a bilingual district in any area within the Montreal region were influenced by several major considerations. They believed that while districts were required in some locations in Quebec and elsewhere in

³⁸ *Supra*, paragraphs 698-702, pp. 106-107.

³⁹ *Supra*, paragraph 704, p. 107.

⁴⁰ *Supra*, paragraph 703, p. 107.

⁴¹ For the relevant figures, see *supra*, paragraphs 686-687, p. 105, and footnote 37, p. 105.

⁴² *Infra*, Part IV, Minority Statements and Reports.

Canada to ensure that the minority received federal services in the minority language, a bilingual district was not necessary in Montreal since the minority there had been furnished with such services traditionally in the past and no doubt would continue to receive these services in the future. A bilingual district, therefore, would make no change in the supply of services to the minority. At the same time its creation might well affect adversely the position of the French language in Montreal by increasing the pressure upon French. The majority of members of the Board could not see the point of incurring a disadvantage in order to achieve no real gain in services.

717. In their view it was also unacceptable to recommend a bilingual district in Montreal, the only metropolis in French-speaking Canada, when it was impossible, because of the lack of a minority amounting to at least ten per cent, to make a similar recommendation for any metropolis in English-speaking Canada. These members believed that it would run counter to the intent of the Official Languages Act, which seeks equality of status between the two official languages, to increase the disparity between French and English by treating Montreal differently from the other large urban centres in Canada.

718. A majority of the members of the Board therefore decided that Montreal should be grouped with other large urban centres for which we are proposing in our supplementary recommendations that federal bilingual services be provided under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act.⁴³

719. This arrangement would be in keeping with the advice given by nearly all the individuals who consulted with us since, although most were opposed to a bilingual district in Montreal, they were overwhelmingly in favour of the federal government continuing to provide its services in Montreal in both official languages.

720. The supplementary recommendation would also overcome the two difficulties we had encountered in trying to delineate only a portion of Montreal as a bilingual district and in coping with the dispersion of federal offices. Since we are proposing that the region to which our supplementary recommendation would apply should be the most extensive spatial unit associated with Montreal, namely, the census metropolitan area, the largest possible number of persons in the region would be provided with federal bilingual services

and the largest possible number of federal offices in the region would be included.

721. Indeed, it is conceivable that our supplementary recommendation would provide a more ample supply of bilingual services than would be furnished by a bilingual district. Under Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act, the federal government is required to provide bilingual services only at its principal offices in a bilingual district. We are proposing in our supplementary recommendation that bilingual services be provided by the federal government under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Act in all federal offices of any kind serving the public and located in large urban centres having an official language minority amounting to at least 5,000 persons who speak their language most often at home.

722. Although it is true that Sections 9(2) and 10 make the provision of bilingual services dependent upon feasibility and significant demand and that we have qualified our recommendation with a similar phrase, "to the extent it is possible," we think that in the case of the large urban centres which have been identified by our criterion of the minority language most often spoken at home, the size of the minority population in each of them will create significant demand and the provision of bilingual services therefore will be feasible.⁴⁴

723. We believe that there certainly will be significant demand for such services in Montreal since, among the urban centres in our list, it had the largest number of persons who habitually spoke the minority language at home. In 1971 the census metropolitan area of Montreal had 683,390 persons who spoke English most often at home.

Note

724. A majority of the Board therefore recommends that the federal government provide its services, to the extent it is possible, in both official languages under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act in all of its offices serving the public and located in the census metropolitan area of Montreal. The general recommendation will be given in full in our Supplementary Recommendations where the geostatistical components and a map of the census metropolitan area of Montreal will be presented also.⁴⁵

⁴³ For the specific proposal, see *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1158, p. 176.

⁴⁴ *Infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraph 1156, p. 176, and pp. 180-181.

⁴⁵ For the specific proposal, see *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1158, p. 176.

(2) Sherbrooke

725. The city of Sherbrooke was discussed extensively in this report previously when we considered the possibility of including various portions of the county of Sherbrooke within the proposed bilingual district of Huntingdon—Compton.⁴⁶ At that point we noted the relevant geographical facts and population figures pertaining to the area and we reported the evidence which the Board had acquired from its several consultations in Sherbrooke and the neighbouring town of Lennoxville.

726. We also explained the reasoning which led a strong majority of the Board to recommend that the rural census subdivision of Ascot and the town of Lennoxville should be included within a bilingual district, namely, Huntingdon—Compton, while the city of Sherbrooke should be provided with federal bilingual services by other arrangements.⁴⁷

Note

727. We do not think it is necessary to repeat here any of the information about Sherbrooke which has previously been given. Our purpose in referring to the city at this point is simply to provide a complete list of the three large urban centres in Quebec for which federal bilingual services are being proposed by our first supplementary recommendation.

728. However, a technical point should be explained. In drafting our supplementary recommendation to provide bilingual federal services in certain large urban centres under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act, we concluded that it would be advisable to have the recommendation apply to the most extensive area of the respective urban centre that could be identified by the categories used by Statistics Canada. For most of the urban centres which are included within our recommendations, the most extensive area was the respective census metropolitan area while for Sherbrooke it was the respective census agglomeration since no census metropolitan area existed for that city.⁴⁸

729. In 1971 the census agglomeration of Sherbrooke was comprised of the city of Sherbrooke and the town of Lennoxville. As we have explained previously, the Board decided to include Lennoxville within a bilingual

district, namely, Huntingdon—Compton. Thus, the recommendation of the provision of federal bilingual services in the census agglomeration of Sherbrooke is redundant in reference to Lennoxville.

730. This redundancy might have been avoided by proposing that our supplementary recommendation should apply to the city of Sherbrooke rather than to the census agglomeration of Sherbrooke. However, a somewhat similar problem arose in the cases of several other large urban centres and provincial capitals for which we wished to recommend the provision of federal bilingual services to as many persons as possible. Since we did not wish to restrict the areas served in these other instances and since we believed that the areas included in each case should be as similar as possible, we preferred to select the census agglomeration of Sherbrooke rather than the city of Sherbrooke. In any event, the redundancy involved in the choice of the census agglomeration of Sherbrooke is immaterial since Lennoxville would be provided with federal bilingual services because it is located in a recommended bilingual district.

(3) Quebec City

731. As we have noted previously, Quebec city did not qualify to be included within a bilingual district since, although it contained 6,330 persons of English mother tongue in 1971, the minority amounted to only 3.4 per cent of the total population of 186,085.⁴⁹ We remarked at the same point in our discussion that the neighbouring city of Sillery had 1,500 individuals of English mother tongue and that since this group amounted to 10.8 per cent of the respective population, Sillery did qualify as a bilingual district. However, as we explained, the Board believed that it would be almost meaningless to propose Sillery as a bilingual district because there were so few federal offices in Sillery.

732. There were several additional census subdivisions in the county of Quebec which each had in 1971 an English mother tongue group amounting to at least ten per cent of the respective population. However, the number of the minority in each of them was very small. Thus, in 1971 St-Gabriel-de-Valcartier had 680 persons of English mother tongue, amounting to 37.3 per cent; St-Gabriel-Ouest 75 persons, or 60.0 per cent; Stoncham & Tewkesbury 200 persons, or 11.8 per cent; and the town of Val-St-Michel 230 indi-

⁴⁶ *Supra*, paragraphs 654-669, pp. 101-103.

⁴⁷ The proposed arrangements will be presented subsequently, *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

⁴⁸ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 195-197, pp. 30-31. Also *infra*, Part III, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176, and pp. 192-193.

⁴⁹ *Supra*, Part I, paragraph 172, p. 27.

viduals, or 11.2 per cent. There was also an unorganized territory which had five English mother tongue persons, amounting to 10.0 per cent.

Visits and Consultations

733. In order to assess the local situation and to obtain the opinion of residents, a team of Board members visited Quebec city and several of the localities in the vicinity, including Stoneham & Tewkesbury. We held three consultations, one with a predominantly English mother tongue group, another with some members of a French cultural association, and the third with an expert in matters relating to language.

Findings

734. The meeting attended chiefly by Anglophones was comprised of about a dozen persons, most of whom had resided in Quebec city throughout their lifetime. The group included a number of individuals who were prominent in the local English language community, particularly in its social welfare, cultural, and religious activities. Although there were a few complaints about the receipt of federal services in English, the items mentioned were minor. In general, the participants indicated that they had not been aware of any serious difficulties in obtaining federal services in English.

735. Some said that a number of Anglophones felt insecure about language matters under provincial jurisdiction, particularly education. They noted that it was impossible for English-speaking students to continue their education locally in English beyond the level of secondary schooling. Consequently, many young Anglophones had left the area to complete their formal education in English and had not returned. This fact had contributed, no doubt, to the very substantial long-term decline of the Anglophone proportion of the population in Quebec city. During a century and a half, it had decreased from approximately forty per cent to less than four per cent.

736. From 1961 to 1971 the English mother tongue population in Quebec city had actually increased somewhat in total number, but it had decreased in proportion because the French mother tongue population had grown more rapidly. A similar change had occurred in the entire county of Quebec in the same decade since, despite an increase in the total of the minority, the proportion of English mother tongue persons had decreased from 4.3 per cent to 3.8 per cent.

737. Some of the participants in our meeting deeply regretted the reduction in English language cultural activities in Quebec city while one expressed the opinion that Anglophones experienced discrimination when seeking employment. Another informed us that a recent meeting of Anglophones in the Valcartier area had strongly favoured the establishment of a bilingual district. Several other English-speaking participants were of the opinion that it was necessary for Anglophones to integrate with the predominantly French-speaking community, making a contribution to it, without losing their own identity as English-speaking residents of Quebec.

738. Our meeting with about a dozen members of the executive of a French cultural association revealed that while some of them were not opposed to the concept of a bilingual district since they believed districts were essential outside of Quebec to serve local French-speaking minorities, they were all very concerned about the preservation of the French language, even in Quebec. Some thought that the purpose and nature of bilingual districts had not been explained adequately to the public and that as a result there was much misunderstanding and apprehension about them.

739. There was general agreement that the critical fact was to provide services, where needed, in either or both official languages. The view was expressed that if the federal public service in Quebec were to function chiefly in French, while providing its services also in English where necessary, there would be less opposition to bilingual districts. Finally, one member suggested that it might be wise to consider establishing bilingual districts serially rather than all at once, inaugurating them individually according to an order of priority based on need.

740. We found that the expert in language matters shared a number of the views already noted. He, too, was convinced that there was a real threat to the survival of the French language in Quebec. He believed that the danger might be diminished if the federal civil service in the province were to function primarily in French. While he agreed that services should continue to be provided in English where necessary, he was opposed to the creation of bilingual districts since in his opinion they were apt to increase the pressure upon the French language and to erode its use further.

Decisions

741. We have already noted that it was impossible for the Board to recommend the establishment of a

bilingual district in Quebec city since in 1971 its English mother tongue population amounted to only 3.4 per cent.

742. After reviewing the relevant data and the evidence obtained in our consultations, the Board decided by a strong majority not to recommend the establishment of a bilingual district in any of the census subdivisions in Quebec county which were eligible, that is, in St-Gabriel-de-Valcartier, St-Gabriel-Ouest, Stoneham & Tewkesbury, Sillery, Val-St-Michel, and the unorganized territory. This decision seemed advisable since each of these localities had quite a small number of the minority⁵⁰ and the areas were too dispersed to be joined together. Moreover, there apparently were very few federal offices located in any of them. It also was possible to provide bilingual services in most of these offices by means of the recommendation which follows.

Note

743. Since the census metropolitan area of Quebec contained in 1971 16,955 persons who habitually spoke English in their homes, the area qualified as one of the large urban centres for which we shall be proposing the provision of federal bilingual services by the use of

Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act.⁵¹ It is perhaps worth repeating also that even if the census metropolitan area of Quebec had not qualified to be included within this proposal, it would have been contained within the list of provincial capitals for which we shall be making a similar recommendation in regard to bilingual services.⁵²

744. The geostatistical components of the census metropolitan area of Quebec and a map of the area will be presented subsequently in Part III of our report.⁵³ Here we wish to note that the census metropolitan area of Quebec contained in 1971 three of the six census subdivisions in Quebec county which we decided not to include in a bilingual district. The three localities were St-Gabriel-de-Valcartier, Sillery, and Val-St-Michel. Together, they had in 1971 an English mother tongue population amounting to 2,410. On the other hand, the three census subdivisions which were not included within the census metropolitan area of Quebec had an English mother tongue population amounting to only 280 persons. Thus, although none of the six census subdivisions is recommended as a bilingual district, more than 89 per cent of the minority residing within them will be provided with bilingual federal services by means of our supplementary recommendation in regard to Quebec city.

⁵⁰ The figures for each are given *supra*, paragraphs 731-732, pp. 110-111.

⁵¹ *Infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Supplementary Recommendation Number 2, paragraphs 1159-1160, p. 176.

⁵³ *Infra*, Part III, pp. 182-183.

Ontario

Introduction

745. The legal recognition of French and English in Ontario long preceded the Official Languages Act of 1969. Bilingualism had been recognized by legislative documents before the establishment of the province.

746. The Constitutional Act of 1791 which detached Ontario from Quebec, far from isolating the French element of the new province, reinforced its position. The government of Upper Canada, assembled in Newark, issued as one of its first decrees a measure aimed at the protection of the French-speaking citizens. The Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada recorded that "Such Acts as have already passed or may hereafter pass the Legislature of this Province shall be translated into the French language for the benefit of the inhabitants of the western district of the province and other French settlers who may come to reside within the province".

747. In 1841 the government of the newly united colony of Canada at its first session in Kingston went even further and declared both French and English official languages.

748. In the schools, the teaching of the French language has long been officially accepted. One of the clearest pieces of evidence in this respect was a letter addressed by the minister of education to the school trustees of Charlottenburg in Glengarry county in 1857: "I have the honour to state . . . that as the French is the recognized language of the country as well as the English, it is quite proper and lawful for the trustees to allow both languages to be taught in their schools to children whose parents may desire them to learn both . . ."

749. The report of the Merchant-Scott-Côté Commission in 1927 recognized the rights enjoyed by the first settlers and missionaries, and recommended the acceptance of certain linguistic and cultural differences.

750. Even the Roman Catholic Church at the time of Regulation 17 encouraged all the ecclesiastics to be

bilingual. Pope Benedict XI wrote to the bishops of Canada in 1916: "We urge all priests engaged in the sacred ministry to become more thoroughly conversant in the knowledge and use of the two languages and, discarding all motives of rivalry, to adopt one or the other according to the requirements of the faithful . . ."

751. French-speaking religious orders, such as the Oblates and the Jesuits, Sisters and Brothers, made a major contribution to the moral and physical well-being of the minority, particularly in educational matters at all levels.

752. The French minority in most areas is now better organized than ever, having social clubs, provincial teachers, women's, and men's and other associations. There is now a long tradition of recognition of the two official languages in Ontario by the provincial and some municipal governments. The policy has been emphasized and more extensively implemented by the three more recent premiers of the province, the Honourable Leslie Frost, John Robarts, and William Davis. In a statement made to the Legislature in May 1971, the Hon. William Davis declared that his government was "to continue the general philosophy and program which was set in motion by [his] predecessor", that his government "agreed to provide, wherever feasible, public services in French as well as English . . ." He proposed at the Second Constitutional Conference in 1969 that "all Canadian parents should, as a matter of equity, [and in the whole of Canada] be able to have their children educated in either or both of the official languages".

753. The cultural agreement signed in 1969 by Ontario and Quebec stated that:

(1) We will provide, within the areas under our jurisdiction and whenever feasible, public services in the English and French languages;

(2) We will provide education, wherever feasible, to students of the French-speaking and English-speaking minority in the language of that minority . . .

754. The government of Ontario has identified some concentrations of French-speaking people in the coun-

ties or districts of Stormont, Glengarry, Prescott, Russell, Ottawa-Carleton, Nipissing, Timiskaming, Niagara, and parts of Essex and Renfrew. Bilingual staff have been provided; translation services are already at work; municipalities have been helped to improve their facilities; the department of justice is trying to expand the provision of bilingual services, both verbal and written; language training facilities are being provided and in the Legislature "every member . . . may as a matter of right . . . address the House in either of the two official languages of Canada".

755. In education, at the secondary level 38 bilingual schools have been developed, of which 23 offer the entire school program in the French language.

756. In concluding his statement in 1971 on the Ontario government's program of bilingualism, Premier Davis said, "Ontario has made a solid commitment to the principle of bilingualism as a matter of equity for our own residents and as a large contribution to the continued and future strength of Canada".

757. Although the present government is not ready to create bilingual districts which would correspond to geographically defined areas, the Board feels confident that bilingual services will be implemented by the province where it is feasible and productive.

Eligible Areas Not Recommended as Bilingual Districts

758. All but a few of the census divisions and subdivisions in Ontario which in 1971 had a French mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent of the respective total population have been included within one or another of the bilingual districts which the Board is recommending. The exceptions fall into two categories. First, there was one census division which was in the National Capital Region. Second, there were several census subdivisions which were so small or dispersed that they could not be recommended as bilingual districts by themselves or included within a proposed bilingual district.

(1) Area Within the National Capital Region

759. In 1971 the census division known as the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton⁵⁴ had a French mother tongue minority amounting to 97,975

⁵⁴ In 1971 there were 54 census divisions in Ontario, of which 39 were counties, 10 were territorial districts, three were regional municipalities, one was a metropolitan municipality, and one was a district municipality.

persons, or 20.8 per cent of the total population. Thus, the census division qualified as a bilingual district. However, it was neither necessary nor possible for the Board to recommend it as a bilingual district since almost all of the census division was contained within the National Capital Region and Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act requires the federal government and its agencies to provide their services in both English and French within the National Capital Region independently of any action by a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board. The small portion of the census division of Ottawa-Carleton which was not contained within the National Capital Region will be recommended by the Board for inclusion within the adjacent bilingual district of Cornwall—Hawkesbury which will be proposed shortly in this report.⁵⁵

(2) Small or Dispersed Localities

760. There were six census subdivisions which were omitted, in whole or in part, from inclusion within a bilingual district because, although each had a French mother tongue minority amounting to at least ten per cent, the number of the minority in each case was very small. Some of the census subdivisions were also so dispersed that they could not be attached to any recommended bilingual district. Moreover, because of the sparsity of the total populations of the areas, it seemed very likely that there were few federal services in these localities.

761. The following list gives the name of each census subdivision, with the aggregate of its French mother tongue population in 1971 in parentheses, and the name of the census division within which it was located: part of the census subdivision of Winchester (35) in the county of Dundas, the census subdivision of Georgian Bay (260) in the district municipality of Muskoka, the census subdivisions of Dilke (105) and Worthington (15) in the territorial district of Rainy River, and the census subdivisions of Westmeath (190) and Braeside (65) in the county of Renfrew.

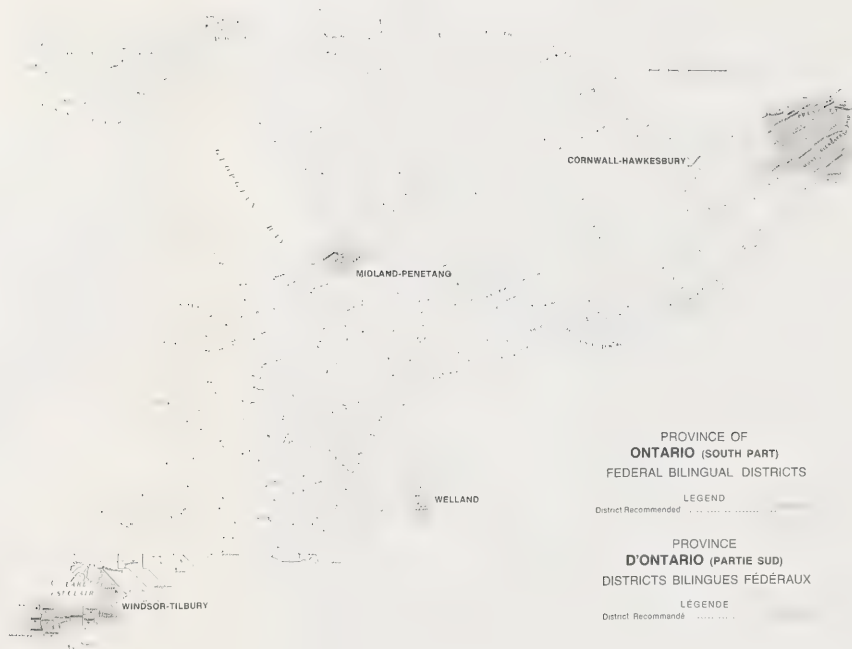
Bilingual Districts Recommended in the Province of Ontario

1. Cornwall—Hawkesbury

a. description

the bilingual district of Cornwall—Hawkesbury consists of the enumeration areas (E.A.) No.

⁵⁵ See *infra*, paragraphs 762-785, pp. 115-118.

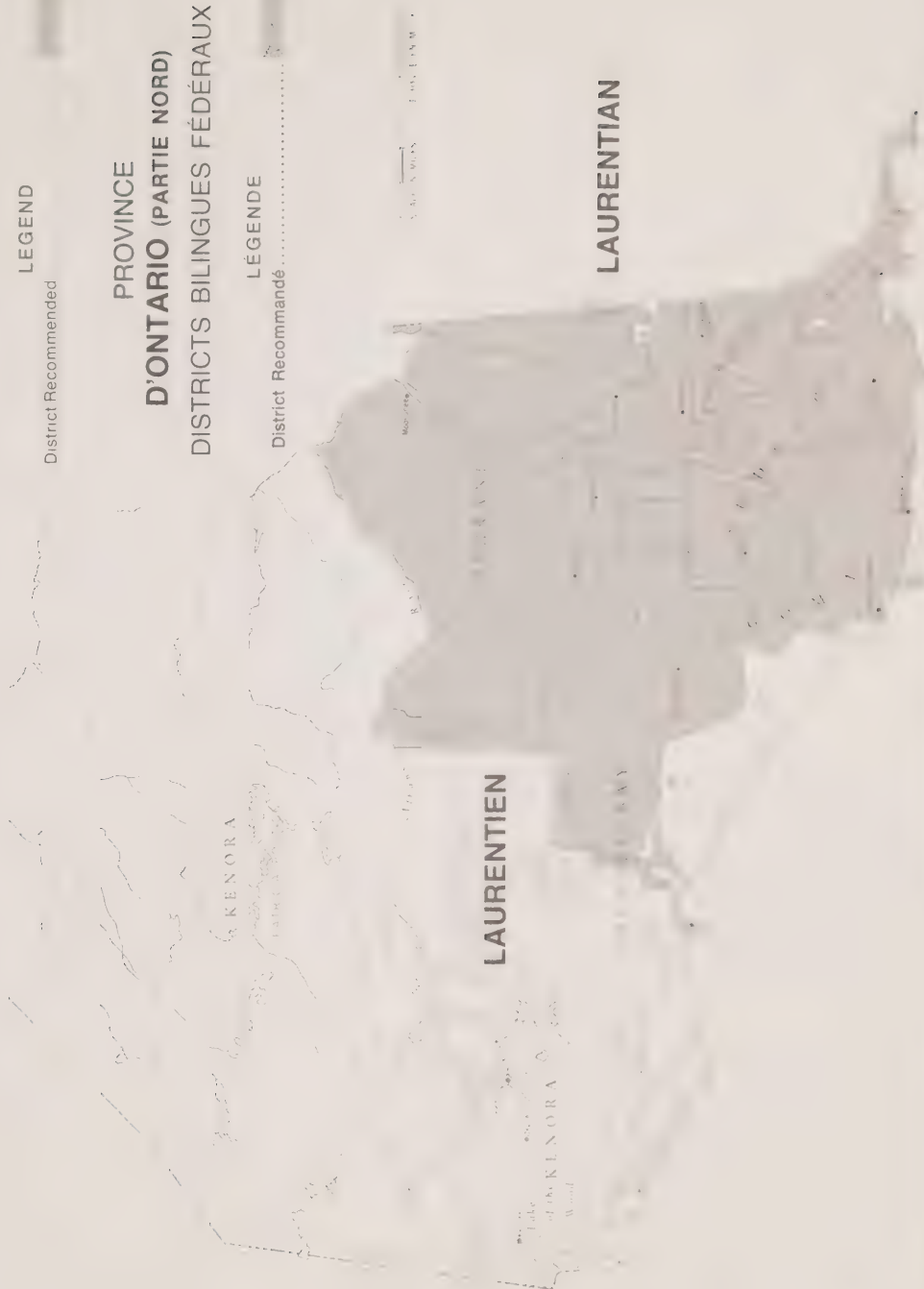


PROVINCE OF
ONTARIO (NORTH PART)
 FEDERAL BILINGUAL DISTRICTS

LEGEND
 District Recommended

PROVINCE
D'ONTARIO (PARTIE NORD)
 DISTRICTS BILINGUES FÉDÉRAUX

LÉGENDE
 District Recommandé



260, 261 and 262 of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 569 (Stormont—Dundas), in the census division of Dundas; the census division of Glengarry; in whole or in part, the enumeration areas No. 157, 159 and 160 of the federal electoral district No. 516 (Grenville—Carleton), and the enumeration areas No. 001, 002 and 003 of the federal electoral district No. 546 (Ottawa—Carleton), in the census division of (Ottawa—Carleton), in the census division of cott; the census subdivisions of Cambridge and Clarence, the town of Rockland, the village of Casselman, and, in whole or in part, the enumeration areas No. 212, 215 and 216 of the federal electoral district No. 514 (Glengarry—Prescott—Russell), in the census division of Russell; the census subdivisions of Cornwall, Finch and Roxborough, the city of Cornwall, and the village of Finch, in the census division of Stormont.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Dundas, division (pt) E.D. E.A.			
569 260.....	470	55	11.7
569 261.....	510	50	9.8
569 262.....	465	185	39.8
Glengarry, division.....	18,480	8,165	44.2
Ottawa—Carleton, division (pt) E.D. E.A.			
516 157 (pt).....	630	30	4.8
516 159 (pt).....	520	15	2.9
516 160 (pt).....	555	110	19.8
546 001 (pt).....	700	450	64.3
546 002	190	100	52.6
546 003 (pt).....	1,465	495	33.8
Prescott, division.....	27,830	22,595	81.2
Russell, division (pt) subdivisions			
Cambridge.....	2,555	2,375	93.0
Clarence.....	4,590	3,955	86.2
town			
Rockland.....	3,650	3,200	87.7
village			
Casselman.....	1,335	1,245	93.3
E.D. E.A.			
514 212 (pt).....	610	550	90.2
514 215 (pt).....	455	425	93.4
514 216 (pt).....	430	150	34.9

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Stormont, division (pt) subdivisions			
Cornwall.....	4,540	620	13.7
Finch.....	2,295	860	37.5
Roxborough.....	2,940	840	28.6
city			
Cornwall.....	47,120	18,165	38.6
village			
Finch.....	395	25	6.3
total.....	122,730	64,660	52.7

Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area, even where only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Cornwall—Hawkesbury is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Glengarry—Prescott—Russell, Grenville—Carleton, Ottawa—Carleton and Stormont—Dundas; it is located in the provincial electoral district of Glengarry and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Carleton East, Grenville—Dundas, Prescott and Russell, and Stormont.

Details

762. The bilingual district recommended by the Board is comprised of the entire census divisions of Glengarry and Prescott, most of the census divisions of Russell and Stormont, and a small portion of each of the census divisions of Dundas and Ottawa—Carleton. Thus composed, the recommended bilingual district forms a compact area occupying the eastern extremity of Ontario between the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers to the east of the National Capital Region with which it is contiguous.

763. For some years there has been a very substantial concentration of persons of French mother tongue in this part of the province. In 1971 the area delineated by the Board had a total population of 122,730 individuals, of whom 64,660, or 52.7 per cent, were of French mother tongue. Since the official language minority in the province therefore amounted to a majority in this area, the Board had no difficulty in deciding that a bilingual district should be recommended in the region. There were, however, a few questions to be resolved in regard to determining the

extent of its western boundaries. Thus, although most of the components of the proposed district can be described very briefly, it is necessary to explain some aspects of the district in greater detail.

Glengarry

764. Located on the St. Lawrence River at the eastern end of Ontario where that province meets Quebec, the census division of Glengarry, which is identical to the county of Glengarry, had in 1971 a French mother tongue minority amounting to 8,165 persons, or 44.2 per cent of the total population. The minority was distributed sufficiently that each census subdivision in the county had a proportion of the minority that considerably exceeded ten per cent. Although there were few federal governmental offices in this predominantly rural county, the number and proportion of the minority were so large that the Board had no hesitation in recommending the entire census division as part of a bilingual district.

Prescott

765. The census division of Prescott, which is identical to the county of the same name, is located immediately to the north of Glengarry county. In 1971 it possessed a much larger number and proportion of the official language minority than Glengarry. In fact, the French mother tongue group in Prescott county was so large that it constituted a very impressive majority since its 22,595 members amounted to 81.2 per cent of the total population. Prescott was one of the two census divisions in Ontario which in 1971 had a majority of French mother tongue persons. Thus, in reality, the official language minority in this county was English. The English mother tongue group amounted to 4,910 persons or 17.6 per cent of the population.

766. Although the principal urban centre in Prescott county, which was the town of Hawkesbury, had a population that was nearly three times as great as the population of the largest urban centre in Glengarry, there were not many federal governmental offices in Prescott. However, because of the overwhelming size of what was ostensibly the minority and because the minority was distributed in very substantial proportions throughout all of the census subdivisions, the Board quickly concluded that the entire census division of Prescott should be included within a bilingual district.

Russell

767. Situated immediately to the west of Prescott, the census division of Russell, which is identical to

Russell county, was the other census division in Ontario that had a French mother tongue majority in 1971. Although the aggregate of French mother tongue persons in Russell was less than in Prescott, the proportion of the French group in Russell was even greater. Thus, in 1971 Russell county contained 13,645 persons of French mother tongue who amounted to 83.8 per cent of the total population. The English mother tongue group amounted to 2,435 individuals or 15.0 per cent of the total population.

768. The Board could not recommend that the entire census division of Russell be included in a bilingual district since a western portion of it, which was part of the census subdivision of Russell, was located within the National Capital Region, and therefore beyond our jurisdiction. However, we did not hesitate to include the remainder of the county in a bilingual district. Although there were few federal offices in this segment of the county, the French mother tongue population was distributed very substantially throughout each census subdivision.

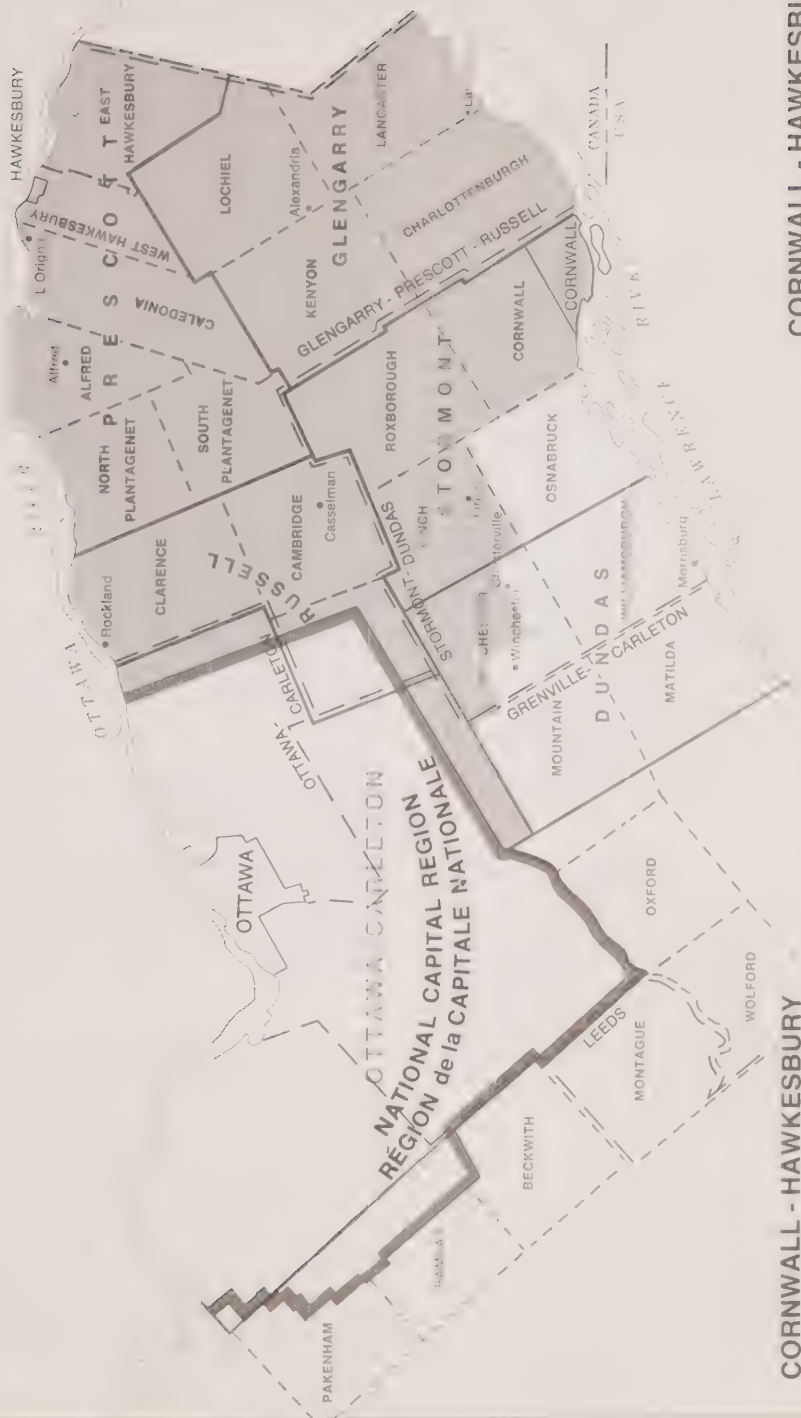
769. We therefore propose that all those portions of the census division of Russell which were not contained within the National Capital Region in 1971 be included within the recommended bilingual district. These portions have been identified in the geostatistical description of Russell census division given previously.⁵⁶ The description contains certain enumeration areas which had to be included in order to make this portion of the boundary of the proposed bilingual district contiguous with the relevant part of the National Capital Region. In 1971 the total number of French mother tongue persons in the portion of Russell county that we propose to include in a bilingual district was 11,900, amounting to 87.3 per cent of the total population of this area.

Stormont

770. The census division of Stormont, which is identical to the county of Stormont, is located immediately to the south of Russell county. In 1971 Stormont had a French mother tongue minority amounting to 20,605 persons or 33.6 per cent of the total population.

771. Thus the entire county might have been included within a bilingual district. However, the French mother tongue minority was not distributed evenly among the census subdivisions which comprised Stormont. One census subdivision in particular, namely Osnabruck, had in 1971 only 100 persons of French mother tongue,

⁵⁶ See *Supra*, sections (a) and (b), pp. 114-115.



CORNWALL - HAWKESBURY

Federal Bilingual District
LEND

- National Capital Region (Ontario)
- Census Division
- Census Subdivision

Produced by the Survey and Mapping Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa, Canada

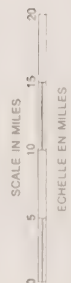
CORNWALL - HAWKESBURY

District bilingue fédéral
LEND

- Région de la capitale nationale (Ontario)
- Division de recensement
- Subdivision de recensement

Produit par la Direction des cartes et de la cartographie, le ministère de l'Énergie, des Mines et des Ressources, Ottawa, Canada

ONTARIO



amounting to precisely 3.0 per cent of the local population. Since Osnabruck was situated in the south-west corner of Stormont at what could be a boundary of a bilingual district, it was possible to omit it from the proposed bilingual district without disrupting the continuity of the district. There also were few federal governmental offices located in Osnabruck since it was a predominantly rural area. Moreover, most of the federal services used by its residents were located in the National Capital Region or in the nearby city of Cornwall, which was included within the proposed district.

772. We therefore decided to omit the census subdivision of Osnabruck from the recommended bilingual district but to include the remainder of the census division of Stormont, except an Indian reservation which had only five French mother tongue persons. In 1971 the French mother tongue group in the included portion of Stormont amounted to 20,505 individuals, or 35.8 per cent of the total population of the area.

Dundas

773. The census division of Dundas, which is identical to the county of the same title, is situated immediately to the west of Stormont county. In 1971 Dundas had a very small number of French mother tongue persons, amounting to only 655 or 3.8 per cent of the total population of the county.

774. However, almost half of the minority was concentrated in one area. The rural census subdivision of Winchester had 325 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 11.5 per cent of the population. Since it was the only census subdivision in the county which had a minority group amounting to at least ten per cent and since it was adjacent to Stormont county, it seemed plausible to recommend including it within the proposed bilingual district.

775. This step did not prove to be feasible, however, since both the village of Winchester, which was situated within the census subdivision, and the southern part of the census subdivision had very few persons of French mother tongue. The village of Winchester contained only 15 members of the minority, amounting to exactly 1.0 per cent, while the southern part had only an additional 35 members of the minority. Because of the smallness of these numbers we decided to omit both the village of Winchester and the southern portion of the census subdivision from the proposed bilingual district.

776. To identify the portions of the census subdivision of Winchester which have been included in the district, it was necessary for us to use certain enumeration areas. These have been noted in the geostatistical description of Dundas census division given previously.⁵⁷ The portions of Dundas county included in the bilingual district contained 290 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 20.1 per cent of the respective total population.

Ottawa-Carleton

777. The census division of Ottawa-Carleton, which is identical to the regional municipality of the same name, lies immediately to the north of the county of Dundas. As we have explained previously, most of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton was contained within the National Capital Region in 1971 and therefore was provided with bilingual federal services without intervention by the Board.⁵⁸

778. However, there was a small portion of the regional municipality which extended beyond the National Capital Region where the boundary of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton met the northern boundary of Dundas county, and the western boundary of Russell county. If we were to make the proposed bilingual district contiguous with the National Capital Region, it would be necessary to include these strips of territory in the recommended district. On the other hand, we wondered whether it would be worthwhile to add such small areas.

Visit and Consultations

779. In order to assess the situation as accurately as possible, several representatives of the Board visited the area and its vicinity, holding consultations in the villages of Winchester, Crysler, and Marionville. Those present at the meetings included persons of French and English mother tongue, some local elected and appointed officials, and several community leaders.

Findings

780. The advice we received at all three meetings was that the village of Winchester and the southern portion of the census subdivision of Winchester should be omitted from a bilingual district since there were

⁵⁷ *Supra*, Sections (a) and (b) pp. 114-115.

⁵⁸ *Supra*, paragraph 759, p. 114.

so few members of the French mother tongue minority residing in these localities. As we have noted already, our decision was in accord with that advice.⁵⁹

781. On the other hand, the evidence we received and our observations on the spot indicated that both Crysler and Marionville had a distinctive French presence. It seemed appropriate, therefore, that they both should be included within a bilingual district. Since Crysler was situated within the census subdivision of Finch in Stormont county, which we were proposing to include within the recommended bilingual district,⁶⁰ we did not need to consider Crysler further.

782. Marionville was located within the narrow strip of territory in the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton between the National Capital Region and Dundas county. An examination of the language data for this area revealed that the segment had 1,200 residents of French mother tongue in 1971, amounting to 29.6 per cent of the population in the area. The Board therefore decided that this small strip of territory, and the strip between Russell county and the National Capital Region, should be included within the proposed bilingual district. To delineate the segments precisely, it was necessary to identify the enumeration areas which comprised them. These have been noted in the geostatistical description of the proposed bilingual district given above in sections (a) and (b).⁶¹

Conclusion

783. Because of all the factors noted previously, the Board had no hesitation in deciding to recommend a bilingual district comprised of the census divisions, census subdivisions, and enumeration areas which have been listed.

784. Although the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board had recommended a number of smaller bilingual districts in the region, corresponding to individual census divisions or parts thereof, the larger area which the Second Board is recommending is almost identical to the sum of the relevant smaller bilingual districts proposed by the First Board. When we met with the representatives of the government of the province of Ontario, we learned that Ontario was not in favour of the principle of declaring demarcated districts, preferring to provide provincial bilingual services pragmatically in response to demand. However, its spokesmen

had no objection beyond that of principle to the boundaries of the proposed federal district of Cornwall—Hawkesbury or of the other districts in Ontario which we shall recommend subsequently.

Recommendation

785. **The Board therefore recommends unanimously the establishment of a bilingual district, called Cornwall—Hawkesbury, to be comprised of the census divisions, in whole or in part, which have been identified.**

2. Laurentian

a. description

the bilingual district of Laurentian consists of the census division of Algoma; the census division of Cochrane; the census subdivisions of Bonfield, Caldwell, Calvin, Cameron I.D., Chisholm, Ferris East, Field, Mattawan, Papineau, Springer and Temagami I.D., the city of North Bay, the towns of Bonfield, Cache Bay, Mattawa and Sturgeon Falls, the enumeration areas (E.A.) No. 017, 018, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213 and 214 of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 541 (Nipissing), the enumeration area No. 201 of the federal electoral district No. 559 (Renfrew North—Nipissing East), and the enumeration area No. 003 of the federal electoral district No. 572 (Timiskaming), in the census division of Nipissing; the census subdivision of Himsworth North, in the census division of Parry Sound; the census subdivisions of Head Clara & Maria, Pembroke, Petawawa and Rolph Buchanan Wylie & McKay, the city of Pembroke, the town of Deep River, and the villages of Chalk River and Petawawa, in the census division of Renfrew; the census division of Sudbury; the census subdivisions of Beardmore I.D., Longlac, Manitouwadge I.D., Marathon, Nakina I.D., Nipigon, Red Rock I.D., Schreiber and Terrace Bay, the city of Thunder Bay and the town of Geraldton, the enumeration areas No. 001, 002 and 003 of the federal electoral district No. 557 (Port Arthur), and the enumeration areas No. 020, 021, 022, 023, 029, 030, 031, 032, 068, 070, 071, 072, 073, 074, 075, 076, 077, 079, 080 and 081 of the federal electoral district No. 571 (Thunder Bay), in the census division of Thunder Bay; and the census division of Timiskaming.

⁵⁹ *Supra*, paragraph 775, p. 117.

⁶⁰ *Supra*, paragraph 772, p. 117.

⁶¹ *Supra*, pp. 114-115.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Algoma, division.....	121,940	12,500	10.2
Cochrane, division.....	95,840	47,100	49.1
Nipissing, division (pt) subdivisions			
Bonfield.....	965	575	59.6
Caldwell.....	1,860	1,730	93.0
Calvin.....	500	105	21.0
Cameron I.D.....	140	45	32.1
Chisholm.....	895	365	40.8
Ferris, East.....	2,480	1,340	54.0
Field.....	895	845	94.4
Mattawan.....	85	10	11.8
Papineau.....	655	310	47.3
Springer.....	2,045	1,495	73.1
Temagami I.D.....	1,425	250	17.5
city			
North Bay.....	49,185	8,530	17.3
towns			
Bonfield.....	695	555	79.9
Cache Bay.....	725	475	65.5
Mattawa.....	2,880	1,560	54.2
Sturgeon Falls.....	6,660	5,025	75.4
E.D. E.A.			
541 017.....	300	80	26.7
541 018.....	500	415	83.5
541 204.....	55	—	—
541 205.....	725	45	6.2
541 206.....	710	410	57.7
541 207.....	100	60	60.0
541 208.....	320	35	10.9
541 209.....	145	125	86.2
541 210.....	575	515	89.6
541 211.....	500	295	59.0
541 212.....	420	385	91.7
541 213.....	5	—	—
541 214.....	50	10	20.0
559 201.....	360	255	70.8
572 003.....	120	5	4.2
Parry Sound, division (pt) subdivision			
Himsworth, North...	2,245	275	12.2
Renfrew, division (pt) subdivisions			
Head, Clara & Maria	475	65	13.7
Pembroke.....	1,160	80	6.9
Petawawa.....	8,505	345	4.1
Rolph, Buchanan, Wylie & McKay...	2,065	235	11.4
city			
Pembroke.....	16,545	1,680	10.2
town			
Deep River.....	5,670	240	4.2
villages			
Chalk River.....	1,095	100	9.1
Petawawa.....	5,785	235	4.1
Sudbury, division.....	198,080	63,895	32.3

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Thunder Bay, division (pt) subdivisions			
Beardmore I.D.....	805	170	21.1
Longlac.....	1,480	625	42.2
Manitouowadge I.D...	3,340	630	18.9
Marathon.....	2,455	315	12.8
Nakina I.D.....	665	70	10.5
Nipigon.....	2,640	190	7.2
Red Rock I.D.....	1,890	195	10.3
Schreiber.....	2,090	145	6.9
Terrace Bay.....	1,860	105	5.6
city			
Thunder Bay.....	108,415	2,350	2.2
town			
Geraldton.....	3,175	810	25.5
E.D. E.A.			
557 001.....	435	15	3.4
557 002.....	310	—	—
557 003.....	550	20	3.6
571 020.....	175	35	20.0
571 021.....	805	175	21.7
571 022.....	15	5	33.3
571 023.....	390	60	15.4
571 029.....	250	—	—
571 030.....	260	—	—
571 031.....	60	—	—
571 032.....	375	—	—
571 068.....	505	35	6.9
571 070.....	—	—	—
571 071.....	45	5	11.1
571 072.....	150	5	3.3
571 073.....	20	5	25.0
571 074.....	335	40	11.9
571 075.....	185	5	2.7
571 076.....	120	5	4.2
571 077.....	370	70	18.9
571 079.....	20	—	—
571 080.....	200	—	—
571 081.....	95	—	—
Timiskaming, division.....	46,485	12,975	27.9
total.....	717,350	171,660	23.9

Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area, even where only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Laurentian is located in the federal electoral districts of Nipissing, Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury, Timmins and Timiskaming, and in part of the federal electoral districts of Algoma, Cochrane, Fort William, Nickel Belt, Parry Sound—Muskoka, Port Arthur, Renfrew North—Nipissing East and Thunder Bay; it is located in the provincial electoral districts of Algoma, Cochrane South, Nickel Belt, Nipissing, Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury, Sudbury East and Timiskaming, and in part of the provincial elec-

toral districts of Algoma—Manitoulin, Cochrane North, Fort William, Parry Sound, Port Arthur, Renfrew North and Thunder Bay.

Details

786. The bilingual district recommended by the Board is comprised of the entire census divisions of Algoma, Cochrane, Sudbury, and Timiskaming, and parts of the census divisions of Nipissing, Parry Sound, Renfrew, and Thunder Bay. Composed of these elements, the recommended bilingual district, which the Board has named Laurentian, occupies the eastern and central portion of Northern Ontario situated between the Quebec boundary to the east, James Bay to the north, Lake Superior to the south-west, and a southern boundary extending indirectly eastward from the city of Sault Ste. Marie to the city of Pembroke on the Ottawa River.

Possible Arrangements

787. Since there were within Northern Ontario a number of very sizable concentrations of French mother tongue persons which were well in excess of the required proportion of ten per cent, the Board had no doubt that some areas in the region qualified for inclusion within a bilingual district. There were, however, several possible arrangements to consider.

(1) One or More Bilingual Districts

788. The first question was whether the Board should propose one extensive bilingual district which would combine the eligible areas, or whether we should propose several smaller areas as separate bilingual districts. Since we have discussed at an earlier point in our report the Board's reasoning in general on the subject of the advantages and disadvantages of larger and smaller districts, we shall not repeat our reflections here.⁶² We shall state the decision which we reached in regard to Northern Ontario at the conclusion of the review of our findings in the area and our assessment of them.

(2) Inclusion or Omission of Certain Localities

789. A second question was whether the Board should recommend the inclusion of certain localities within the proposed bilingual district or districts in Northern Ontario. The First Bilingual Districts Board had recom-

mended that two areas in Northern Ontario, the census divisions of Algoma and Thunder Bay, should be considered for inclusion after the results of the census in 1971 had been obtained.⁶³ We noted that, in addition, there were several other localities in the census divisions of Nipissing and Renfrew that needed to be reconsidered carefully because of their relatively small percentages of the official language minority.

790. We shall review each of these localities in the analysis that follows. But we believe that the description of our findings and reasoning in regard to the components of the proposed bilingual district of Laurentian will be clearer if we commence by considering the areas that had large minority populations.

Timiskaming

791. The census division of Timiskaming, which is identical to the territorial district of the same name, is located on the eastern border of Northern Ontario adjacent to Quebec, south of the census division of Cochrane. In 1971 there were 12,975 persons of French mother tongue in Timiskaming, constituting 27.9 per cent of the total population. The minority was distributed in substantial proportions in nearly all of the census subdivisions in the territorial district. Although there were no large urban centres in Timiskaming, there were several towns which apparently had a number of federal governmental offices. For all of these reasons, the Board quickly decided to include the entire census division of Timiskaming in a bilingual district.

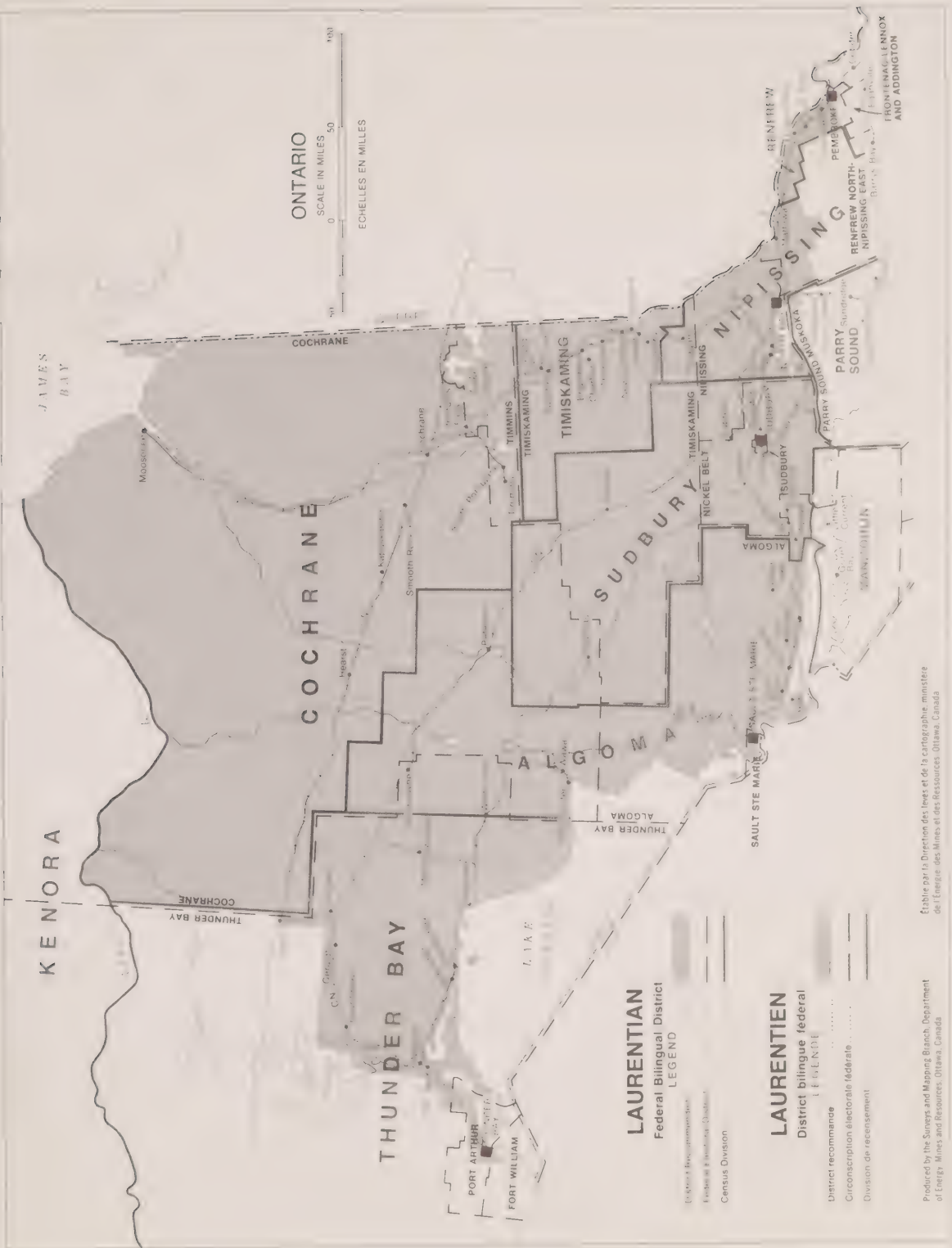
Cochrane

792. The census division of Cochrane, which is identical to the territorial district of Cochrane, is situated immediately to the north of the census division of Timiskaming, occupying the north-east corner of Ontario where that province adjoins Quebec and James Bay.

793. In 1971 Cochrane had the second largest number of persons of French mother tongue but the largest proportion of the minority of any of the census divisions in Northern Ontario. Its French mother tongue population of 47,100 amounted to 49.1 per cent of the total population of the territorial district. The minority was distributed in very substantial proportions, often

⁶² *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 129-135, pp. 21-22.

⁶³ *Recommendations of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, March, 1971*. Ottawa, Information Canada, 1971, pp. 57-58.



exceeding fifty per cent, in all but three of the 18 census subdivisions which comprised the territorial district. There were six towns, varying in size from 1,235 residents to 28,545 persons, which contained a number of federal governmental offices.

794. Although these factors indicated to the Board that there was no doubt that a bilingual district was appropriate to the area, there were several points which we wished to investigate further.

795. One question concerned the selection of a northern boundary for the potential bilingual district in Cochrane. Since there were relatively few people dwelling in the extensive northern part of the census division, we considered omitting this northern portion by setting the boundary at the limit of permanent settlement which approximated the northern boundary of the school districts. Beyond this line, in the northern expanse of the territorial district, there were in 1971 only 5,370 residents, of whom 695 or 12.9 per cent were of French mother tongue, and almost all of whom were concentrated along the railway running north to Moosonee. Another possibility was to draw the boundary slightly farther to the north at the fiftieth parallel of latitude. The final option was simply to adopt the northern boundary of the census division, thereby encompassing all of Cochrane in the proposed bilingual district.

796. To obtain advice on this question and on other issues, we held two meetings. Some Board members consulted with an elected representative from Cochrane and a team of Board members availed themselves of an opportunity to visit the area.

Visit and Consultation

797. The Board arranged a meeting between a group of its members and some residents in Hearst. However, since adverse weather conditions prevented our arrival in Hearst, we transferred the meeting to Kapuskasing where we consulted with three members of the French minority from Hearst.

798. Although the respondents said that French radio and television programs were available in Hearst and that there was no difficulty in obtaining federal services in French at the limited number of governmental offices which were located in Hearst, they added that federal services in French were less satisfactory in Cochrane and in regional federal offices in Timmins and Sudbury.

799. In reply to our questions, they remarked that as residents of Hearst they identified more with north-eastern Ontario than with north-western Ontario, with

which they had less communication. However, one person stated a preference for a more extensive bilingual district rather than a smaller district since he believed that a larger area would strengthen weaker French-speaking groups in the north and encourage a sense of community among the minority.

Decision

800. After considerable subsequent discussion, a majority of the Board decided that, for much the same reasons as those expressed by the respondent just noted, the entire census division of Cochrane, rather than only a southern portion, should be included within a bilingual district. We also believed that we should continue to bear in mind the possibility of recommending a more expansive rather than a less extensive bilingual district in the whole region of Northern Ontario.

Sudbury

801. The census division of Sudbury, which is identical to the territorial district of the same name, is situated immediately to the south of Cochrane and to the west of Timiskaming.

802. In 1971 Sudbury had the largest number of persons of French mother tongue of any of the census divisions in Northern Ontario and the second largest number of individuals of this mother tongue group among all of the census divisions in the province. There were 63,895 persons of French mother tongue in the territorial district of Sudbury in 1971, amounting to 32.3 per cent of the total population. Although the official language minority was not distributed uniformly in the census subdivisions comprising the territorial district, there were only seven subdivisions out of a total of 29 which had a minority amounting to less than ten per cent. These seven subdivisions had comparatively small aggregate populations.

Visit and Consultations

803. A team of Board members visited the city of Sudbury and held two meetings with local residents. In attendance at the first meeting were four elected officials of local governments in the area. An additional elected representative from the region was consulted by several members of the Board on another occasion. The second of the two meetings in Sudbury was attended by 18 local residents, for the most part of French mother tongue.

Findings

804. In 1971 Sudbury was the second largest urban centre in Northern Ontario, being exceeded in size of population by only Thunder Bay. However, since Thunder Bay was situated in the western portion of Northern Ontario while Sudbury was located in the east, Sudbury tended to be the metropolitan centre for the north-eastern sector of the province, which was much more populous than the north-west. The city of Sudbury had French radio and television services and quite a large number of local and regional federal governmental offices.

805. Although some individuals present at the meetings informed us that services were usually available in French in federal offices, others stated that the services were not always provided as adequately or as spontaneously as they might be and that Francophones were therefore discouraged from attempting to secure them. There were also complaints about the inability of French-speaking individuals to obtain services in their own language from some governmental sources and from some quasi-public corporations. These disappointments and frustrations had inhibited the growth of a vigorous community consciousness among the official language minority although it was sizable, amounting to 27.0 per cent in the city, and had its own social, educational, and religious institutions. Several members of the minority expressed the opinion that Francophones were either ignored or treated as second-class citizens.

806. Since the city of Sudbury had a sizable proportion of persons of other than French or English mother tongue, amounting to 17.5 per cent, we raised the question of the probable reaction of such persons to the establishment of a bilingual district in the area. We were told that there was a degree of friction among groups and that there might be some adverse reaction, but that criticism would be more likely to arise from a misunderstanding of the purpose of the Official Languages Act and of bilingual districts than from antipathy to any group.

807. In response to our question about the possible extent of a bilingual district in Northern Ontario, two persons present said they thought of the whole of Northern Ontario as one region, although one of them regarded the north-eastern portion as an operational area in itself.

Decision

808. The Board concluded that the census division of Sudbury was precisely the kind of an area that should be included within a bilingual district.

Algoma

809. The census division of Algoma, which is identical to the territorial district of the same title, is situated immediately to the west of the census division of Sudbury and to the south of the census division of Cochrane.

810. In 1971 Algoma had a French mother tongue population amounting to 12,500 persons, or 10.2 per cent of the total population of the census division. Although Algoma's total population had increased since 1961, the French mother tongue population had decreased in the decade in both number and proportion, having amounted in 1961 to 13,244 persons or 11.9 per cent. Despite these latter figures, the First Board had not recommended Algoma as a bilingual district. However, the First Board had listed it as one of the areas to be reconsidered after the census of 1971.

811. Examining the population data, we noted that only six of the 24 census subdivisions in Algoma had an official language minority constituting at least ten per cent. Nevertheless, four of these six census subdivisions had a minority population which was sizable both in number and proportion. Each of the minority groups in these four subdivisions exceeded one thousand individuals and 20 per cent of the respective population, reaching 34.9 per cent in one case.

812. Two-thirds of the population in Algoma was concentrated in the one metropolitan centre in the census division, Sault Ste. Marie. But this city had a French mother tongue minority amounting to only 5.5 per cent.

813. Because Sault Ste. Marie and the six census subdivisions which had more than ten per cent of the minority were dispersed throughout the territorial district of Algoma, there was no way in which any of these localities could be combined to create a bilingual district, other than by recommending that the entire census division be incorporated as a bilingual district.

Visit and Consultations

814. A team from the Board paid a visit to Sault Ste. Marie, holding two consultations there. The first meeting was with three members of the local French mother

tongue group; the second was with three elected municipal officials, two of whom were of English mother tongue. On a subsequent occasion several members of the Board consulted an additional elected representative from the region.

Findings

815. Although Sault Ste. Marie had at least a dozen federal offices, it appeared that it was fortuitous if services were available in French as well as in English. There were no French radio or television facilities at the time of our visit. Since most services in all sectors of government had been offered customarily only in English and since most of the French mother tongue residents were bilingual, the minority had become accustomed to seeking services in English and rarely asked for them in French.

816. Our inquiry on the spot confirmed that the French-speaking population was very dispersed in the city as well as in the census division. Although there were French elementary schools and some Franco-phone community activities, there was only one bilingual parish among 21. The French-speaking residents whom we met said that they tended to look east toward Sudbury for their cultural communications, rather than west toward Thunder Bay. These respondents were in favour of their area being included in a bilingual district since they foresaw many positive advantages to such an arrangement.

817. The elected officials whom we met were favourably disposed toward the inclusion of Sault Ste. Marie in a bilingual district. In their opinion there was a definite need for federal French language services in the city and it would be only just to provide them. One member, while supporting the provision of bilingual services, expressed opposition to the establishment of too large a bilingual district, preferring to see such services offered in specific localities in response to need.

Decision

818. After considerable discussion, the Board decided by a nearly unanimous vote that the entire census division of Algoma should be included within a bilingual district. Four factors were particularly influential in the Board's decision. First, there were six localities within the census division which had considerably more than the percentage of the minority required for a bilingual district. Second, since there was no possibility of combining these localities or attaching them

in any way to another district, and since it was obviously not plausible to recommend six small bilingual districts, the only alternative was to recommend the entire census division. Third, the choice of the whole division would mean that Sault Ste. Marie was included in the bilingual district, and we regarded the inclusion of the city to be essential because it contained most of the significant federal offices in the census division. Fourth, the selection of the entire territorial district of Algoma would undoubtedly assist in the maintenance and growth of the minority's community culture as well as its language.

Thunder Bay

819. The census division of Thunder Bay, which is identical to the territorial district of the same name, is situated immediately to the west of the census divisions of Algoma and Cochrane.

820. In 1971 the census division of Thunder Bay had 6,290 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to only 4.3 per cent of the total population, which was slightly less than it had been in 1961 when the minority amounted to 4.4 per cent. While the First Board had not recommended this area as a bilingual district, it had proposed that the census division be reconsidered after the census of 1971.

821. The basic problem which confronted our Board in this census division was similar to that which we had encountered in Algoma. Although there were seven census subdivisions within the territorial district of Thunder Bay which had French mother tongue populations in excess of ten per cent, they constituted only one-third of the 21 which comprised the entire territorial district. The seven localities were also considerably dispersed. Again as in the case of Algoma, there was one metropolitan centre in the census division, which in this instance was the city of Thunder Bay, and it contained three-quarters of the total population, many local federal offices, and most of the regional federal offices in the territorial district.

822. The case of the census division of Thunder Bay, however, was more marginal than that of Algoma because the number, and often the percentage, of persons of French mother tongue in each of the seven census subdivisions and in the city of Thunder Bay were considerably less than in the comparable localities in Algoma. In the city of Thunder Bay, for example, the minority amounted to only 2,350 individuals, constituting 2.2 per cent.

Visits and Consultations

823. A group of Board members visited two localities in the census division, the town of Geraldton and the city of Thunder Bay, holding three consultations. In Geraldton we met with three residents of the nearby locality of Longlac and one public official from Thunder Bay, all of whom were of French mother tongue. In the city of Thunder Bay we consulted with an elected and appointed municipal official and a federal official and met with a group of 16 local residents, among whom were some persons of French mother tongue and some of English mother tongue. Several members of the Board also consulted on another occasion with an additional elected representative from the region.

Findings

824. Those persons whom we met in Geraldton left an indelible impression upon us of the severe difficulties under which members of the minority laboured in an attempt to maintain the survival of their French language and culture in this part of Northern Ontario. Their grievances and their pleas for assistance were strongly endorsed by several touching letters which we received, signed by a number of French-speaking residents in the neighbouring communities of Dubreuilville, Manitouwadge, and Longlac.

825. There were two major complaints. Although a certain amount of education was available in French, there were almost no federal or other governmental services provided in French in their localities or in regional offices in the city of Thunder Bay. The most crippling deficiency in some of these communities was a lack of radio and television programs in French. In this isolated region, children in particular were losing their mother tongue because of an absence of media in their own language. Unilingual French persons, of whom there were approximately 20 per cent, also suffered because of their inability to obtain governmental services in their own language.

826. We heard a cry for help from individuals who said they were drowning in a sea of English. One signatory inscribed her letter "S.O.S." It scarcely need be added that those from whom we heard were exceedingly anxious to be included within a bilingual district.

827. The large group whom we met in the city of Thunder Bay was also strongly in favour of a bilingual district. Indeed, most persons present were convinced this was necessary since there was an inadequate supply of services in French in federal local and regional

offices. There also were no radio or television services in French.

828. Several persons pointed out that the lack of French facilities in Thunder Bay was all the more regrettable because the city was the link between eastern and western Canada, and in particular between the Francophones in Northern Ontario and those in Manitoba. A student present at the meeting attributed the departure of younger French-speaking residents from the area to the fact that there was little opportunity for them to continue living in their culture in Thunder Bay. He believed that the establishment of a bilingual district would help prevent the emigration.

829. In response to our questions, we were told that there might well be considerable adverse reaction to a bilingual district, particularly from members of the older generation, and from some ethnic groups who comprised by mother tongue 24.2 per cent of the population of the city. However, it was the opinion of our respondents that much of this resentment arose from ignorance and misunderstanding of the implications of the Official Languages Act, and that much of the antipathy could be dispelled if the purpose of the Act were explained more clearly and if the public realized that the Act did not damage any group's interests.

830. Most of those present at the meeting preferred to have a bilingual district that would be related to Manitoba rather than to north-eastern Ontario. According to local opinion, the dividing line between north-western and north-eastern Ontario appeared to be the boundary between the census divisions of Thunder Bay and Algoma. There was some sympathy for the position of the Association Canadienne-Française de l'Ontario which had recently endorsed the proposition that the whole of Northern Ontario should be a bilingual district.

831. When we met with the municipal officials and asked them for their reaction to the proposal that the city of Thunder Bay be included in a bilingual district, we were told that most municipal representatives would undoubtedly be in favour of anything that increased the likelihood of growth in Thunder Bay.

832. The subsequent consultation with another elected representative from the area revealed that although he was not in favour of establishing an extensive bilingual district, he was sympathetic to the provision of bilingual federal services in specific localities where they were needed. He proposed that this goal might be achieved by having bilingual federal public servants travel from one community to another where bilingual services were required.

Decisions

833. Having weighed the divergent considerations and the evidence which we had received, the Board made several decisions. We decided unanimously that it was not advisable to recommend for inclusion within a bilingual district any of the areas in Ontario west of the city of Thunder Bay, including the entire census divisions of Rainy River and Kenora and a large western portion of the territorial district of Thunder Bay, since the minority in this vast region was relatively small and very dispersed. As we have already noted, although there were two census subdivisions within the territorial district of Rainy River which had a French mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent, the minority in each of them was so small and so isolated that we declined to recommend them.⁶⁴

834. The effect of these decisions was to discard the proposal to recommend one very extensive bilingual district encompassing all of Northern Ontario from the Quebec boundary to the Manitoba boundary.

835. After a good deal of discussion, the Board decided almost unanimously to recommend that a south-eastern portion of the census division of Thunder Bay should be included within a bilingual district, and that since the area was contiguous with the census divisions of Cochrane and Algoma, it should be included within the large bilingual district in Northern Ontario which we propose should be called Laurentian.

836. A geostatistical description of this recommended south-eastern portion of the census division of Thunder Bay has been given above in parts (a) and (b) of the proposed Laurentian bilingual district.⁶⁵ Here we wish merely to note that the recommended portion includes, in addition to the city of Thunder Bay, all of the census subdivisions in the territorial district of Thunder Bay which had in 1971 a French mother tongue population of at least ten per cent. It also includes the enumeration areas that had to be incorporated in order to make this south-eastern portion a continuous entity.

837. The relevant census subdivisions, with the number and percentage of their French mother tongue populations stated in parentheses after them, are as follows: Beardmore I.D. (170, 21.1 per cent), Longlac (625, 42.2 per cent), Manitouwadge I.D. (630, 18.9 per cent), Marathon (315, 12.8 per cent), Nakina I.D. (70, 10.5 per cent), Red Rock I.D. (195, 10.3 per cent), and the town of Geraldton (810, 25.5 per cent).

838. In arriving at the decision to include these census subdivisions in a bilingual district, the Board recognized that although each of the minority populations was quite small, the aggregate of the minority was significant, amounting to 2,815 persons. When the number of the minority residing within the included enumeration areas and the city of Thunder Bay was added, the total of the minority amounted to 6,085 persons.

839. We were influenced, however, by more than mere numbers. Having heard the pleas of the minority in this region for bilingual federal services and support for their language and culture, we concluded that we could not ignore them. Since we did not think that any of the other proposals for furnishing bilingual services was as certain to be effective, we supported the option of a bilingual district.

840. We were aware that by including the city of Thunder Bay within the proposed bilingual district, we were placing an obligation upon the federal government to provide its services in both official languages in an urban centre in which the percentage of the mother tongue minority was very small. However, since many local federal offices and most of the regional offices in the territorial district were in the city of Thunder Bay, it was essential to include the city if the proposal for bilingual services was to be meaningful. To have omitted the metropolitan centre and confined the bilingual district to the outlying census subdivisions would have achieved some improvement but have missed the major need. The proposal that we are making would not require the federal public service in Thunder Bay to work in French, but only to provide services to the public in both official languages.

841. Finally, by recommending that this south-eastern portion of the census division of Thunder Bay be included within the large proposed bilingual district lying to the east, we realize that we are not adopting the orientation toward the west that some persons in Thunder Bay preferred. However, for the reasons already given, it was not possible to follow their inclinations.

842. Having completed the description of the western limits of the proposed bilingual district, we shall now explain the selection of the remaining portions of the district, which are located in its south-eastern sector.

Nipissing

843. The census division of Nipissing, which is identical to the territorial district of the same name, is

⁶⁴ *Supra*, paragraphs 760-761, p. 114.

⁶⁵ *Supra*, pp. 118-119.

situated immediately to the south of the census division of Timiskaming between the census division of Sudbury and the Ottawa River.

844. In 1971 the census division of Nipissing had 25,885 persons of French mother tongue, constituting 32.8 per cent of the total population. The minority was so extensively distributed throughout the territorial district that all but two of the 19 census subdivisions had a French mother tongue group constituting at least ten per cent. In most of the census subdivisions the proportion of the minority was so sizable that it amounted to more than 40 per cent. There were a number of federal local and regional offices in the principal urban centre of North Bay.

845. The Board had no hesitation in contemplating the establishment of a bilingual district in the region. The only question which gave us pause was whether the bilingual district should include the large southern portion of the census division which contained Algonquin Park, an extensive recreational area. Although the First Board had incorporated the area within a bilingual district, we decided to omit it because of the sparsity of permanent residents within it.

846. We therefore recommend that the entire census division of Nipissing, except the Algonquin Park area previously alluded to, be included within the proposed bilingual district of Laurentian. Since the Park contained so few residents of French mother tongue, the total of the minority included within the recommended district amounted to 99.0 per cent of the minority in Nipissing. To describe the included portion of Nipissing accurately, it was necessary to identify certain enumeration areas. These areas have been listed in the geographical description of the census division of Nipissing in sections (a) and (b) above.⁶⁶

Parry Sound

847. The census division of Parry Sound, which is identical to the territorial district of the same name, is located immediately to the south of the census divisions of Nipissing and Sudbury.

848. In 1971 the territorial district of Parry Sound contained only one census subdivision, called Himsworth, North, which had a French mother tongue minority amounting to at least ten per cent. Although Himsworth, North possessed only 275 residents of French mother tongue, the minority amounted to 12.2 per cent. Moreover, since Himsworth, North was con-

tiguous with the census division of Nipissing, being located a few miles south of North Bay, the Board decided that it should be included within the proposed bilingual district.

849. The Board therefore recommends the addition of the census subdivision of Himsworth, North to the proposed bilingual district of Laurentian.

Renfrew

850. The census division of Renfrew, which is identical to the county of Renfrew, is situated immediately to the south and east of the census division of Nipissing, extending along the southern bank of the Ottawa River.

851. In 1971 the census division of Renfrew contained a French mother tongue population amounting to 4,775 persons, or 5.3 per cent of the total population of the county. Thus the entire county was not eligible to be recommended as a bilingual district. However, there were five census subdivisions within it which had a minority constituting at least ten per cent.

852. Two of the five census subdivisions comprised the northern projection of Renfrew county and were contiguous with the portion of Nipissing census division which we were proposing as part of a bilingual district. These two census subdivisions had multiple names. The northern census subdivision was Head, Clara & Maria. The adjacent southern subdivision was Rolph, Buchanan, Wylie & McKay.

853. A third census subdivision which had a minority amounting to at least ten per cent was the city of Pembroke. Despite the fact that it was separated from the two northern census subdivisions already mentioned by the intervening rural census subdivision of Petawawa which had a minority amounting to only 4.1 per cent, the Board thought that it would be advisable to recommend that all of this area, including Pembroke and the census subdivisions extending north, should be included in the proposed bilingual district. The influential consideration was that the city of Pembroke, which was the largest urban centre in the county, contained 1,680 persons of French mother tongue and a number of federal offices.

854. The two remaining census subdivisions which had a minority amounting to at least ten per cent were Westmeath and Braeside. Although Westmeath was located in the vicinity of Pembroke, to the south-east, it was separated from Pembroke by an intervening

⁶⁶ *Supra*, pp. 118-119.

census subdivision which had less than ten per cent of the minority. It was therefore rather difficult to include Westmeath in the proposed bilingual district. Since it had only 190 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 10.6 per cent, we decided to omit it. We also omitted Braeside because it was located so far to the south in Renfrew county that it was impossible to incorporate it in a bilingual district. Moreover, Braeside had only 65 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 12.5 per cent.

Consultation

855. A team of Board members consulted with an elected representative from the area. While he was not opposed to the concept of bilingual districts or to the recommendation of a district in part of Renfrew, he was of the opinion that the boundary of the proposed district should be drawn farther north so that it excluded Pembroke, Petawawa, and also the town of Deep River, and the village of Chalk River. His argument was that many of the French mother tongue persons in these communities had lost their capacity in their original language and that they therefore would be at a disadvantage if their area, in which there was much federal governmental employment, became a bilingual district since the latter would increase the demand for bilingual federal employees.

Decision

856. The Board gave a good deal of consideration to these arguments, but decided unanimously that the area originally contemplated should be adhered to. Thus, we recommend the inclusion within the bilingual district of the northern projection of Renfrew county already described, commencing with and including the city of Pembroke.

Summation

857. The census divisions, or parts thereof, which we have described above comprise the bilingual district which we are recommending in Northern Ontario. The entire area corresponds very closely to the sum of four of the individual bilingual districts recommended by the First Board (Cochrane, Renfrew—Nipissing, Sudbury, and Timiskaming), except that the Second Board has added the census division of Algoma and part of the census division of Thunder Bay.

858. In 1971 the proposed bilingual district had 171,660 residents of French mother tongue. They

amounted to 23.9 per cent of the total population and accounted for more than one-third of all the French mother tongue persons in the province of Ontario.

859. In keeping with our decision to propose larger rather than smaller bilingual districts, we have combined the relevant census divisions into one area which we have called Laurentian. The choice of this title deviates from our policy of naming districts by their principal components, but since the area is composed of a number of census divisions, we decided to avoid choosing among them by selecting a more generic term.

Recommendation

860. A strong majority of the Boards recommends the establishment of a bilingual district named Laurentian, to be composed of the parts of the eight census divisions described previously.

3. Midland—Penetang

a. description

the bilingual district of Midland—Penetang consists of the census subdivisions of Tay and Tiny, the towns of Midland and Penetanguishene, and the villages of Port McNicoll and Victoria Harbour, in the census division of Simcoe.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percent-age
Simcoe, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Tay.....	4,325	190	4.4
Tiny.....	5,520	2,300	41.7
towns			
Midland.....	10,995	715	6.5
Penetanguishene.....	5,500	1,995	36.3
villages			
Port McNicoll.....	1,450	105	7.2
Victoria Harbour.....	1,245	100	8.0
total.....	29,035	5,405	18.6

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Midland—Penetang is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Grey—Simcoe and Simcoe North, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Simcoe Centre and Simcoe East.

Details

861. The bilingual district recommended by the Board consists of two rural census subdivisions, two towns, and two villages within the census division of Simcoe, which corresponds to the county of that name. The area, which is very small, is located in the north-western corner of Simcoe county abutting on Georgian Bay. Three hundred years ago it was the site of the Indian settlement of Huronia and the Jesuit mission at Ste. Marie, whose memory is perpetuated by the present Martyrs Shrine near the town of Midland. The antecedents of the existing French population therefore date from more than three centuries ago.

862. In 1971 the French mother tongue population in Simcoe county was concentrated in the census subdivision of Tiny and the adjoining town of Penetanguishene. Tiny had 2,300 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 41.7 per cent, while Penetanguishene had 1,995 members of the same group, amounting to 36.3 per cent.

863. Since there were no other census subdivisions in Simcoe containing a minority constituting at least ten per cent, the Board considered recommending only this limited area. However, there were a reasonable number of French mother tongue residents in the adjoining census subdivision of Tay and in the town of Midland and the villages of Port McNicoll and Victoria Harbour, which were encompassed by Tay. The total of the minority in this compact adjoining area was 1,110 persons. This locality also had a great deal of historical significance and was a tourist attraction, especially for Francophones, since it contained the sites of the Martyrs Shrine and the reconstructed village of Ste. Marie.

864. For all these reasons, we thought it wise to add this area in Tay to the census subdivisions of Tiny and Penetanguishene. Since the First Board had done likewise, our recommendation is identical to that of our predecessor. Although there were few federal offices in the area, the French mother tongue minority in the proposed bilingual district amounted in 1971 to 5,405 persons, or 18.6 per cent.

Recommendation

865. Accordingly, a strong majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district called Midland—Penetang, to be comprised in the manner previously noted.

4. Welland

a. description

the bilingual district of Welland consists of the cities of Port Colborne and Welland, in the census division of Niagara.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percent-age
Niagara, division (pt)			
cities			
Port Colborne.....	21,420	1,765	8.2
Welland.....	44,395	7,590	17.1
total.....	65,815	9,355	14.2

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Welland is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Lincoln and Welland, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Welland and Welland South.

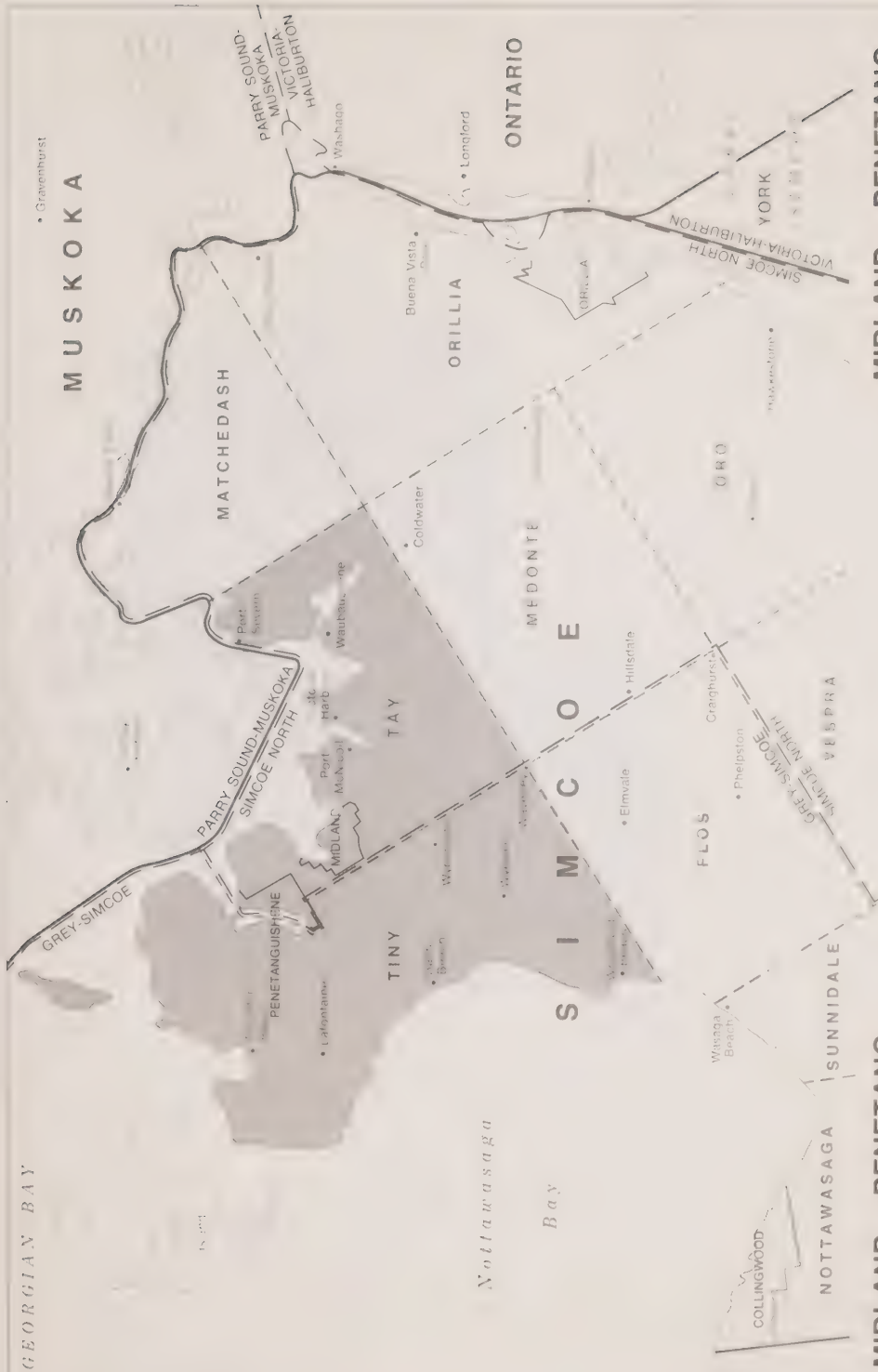
Details

866. The bilingual district recommended by the Board consists of the two adjoining cities of Welland and Port Colborne within the census division of Niagara, which is identical to the regional municipality of Niagara. The area is located in the southern part of the Niagara Peninsula, bordering on Lake Erie.

867. In 1971 Welland was the only census subdivision in Niagara which had a French mother tongue population constituting at least ten per cent. The minority in Welland amounted to 7,590 persons, or 17.1 per cent. However, the adjacent city of Port Colborne had an additional 1,765 individuals of French mother tongue, amounting to 8.2 per cent.

868. Welland and Port Colborne have traditionally been regarded as twin cities. Although our Board did not visit the area, we knew from the visit paid to the locality by the First Board that the two communities, and in particular the Francophone members of them, had a great many reciprocal relations. The First Board had decided that the two localities should be grouped together in one bilingual district and we saw no reason to change that opinion.

869. Although the boundaries of each city had been enlarged since the First Board's recommendation had been made, the total area proposed by the First Board



MIDLAND - PENETANG

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

- Province of Ontario
- County of Simcoe
- County of York
- Census Division
- Subdivision of Census

MIDLAND - PENETANG

District bilingue fédéral

LEGENDE

- District recommandé
- Circumscription électorale fédérale
- Division de recensement
- Subdivision de recensement

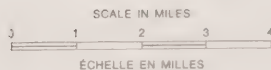
ONTARIO

SCALE IN MILES

ECHELLE EN MILES



ONTARIO



WELLAND

Federal Bilingual District
LÉGENDE

District Recommended	
Federal Electoral District	
Census Division	
Census Subdivision	

Produced by the Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa, Canada

WELLAND

Districr bilingue fédéral
LÉGENDE

Districr recommandé	
Circonscription électorale fédérale	
Division de recensement	
Subdivision de recensement	

Produced by the Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa, Canada

as a bilingual district had been more extensive than the limits of the two cities at that time. It corresponded very closely to the boundaries of the two cities which we were prepared to recommend as a bilingual district. In reality, therefore, the Second Board is proposing as a bilingual district almost the same area as that recommended by the First Board.

870. Although there were in 1971 two additional census subdivisions in Niagara which each had a larger number of French mother tongue persons than Port Colborne, the proportion of the minority in each census subdivision was considerably less than ten per cent. The city of Niagara Falls had 2,095 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 3.1 per cent, while the city of St. Catharines had 3,760 members of the minority, amounting to 3.4 per cent.

871. Since the total populations of these two cities were so large, amounting respectively to 67,165 and 109,725 persons, it was impossible to include the municipalities within the proposed bilingual district without reducing the proportion of the minority to less than the ten per cent required for a bilingual district. We therefore had no choice but to omit them from the proposed bilingual district. However, we shall make a supplementary recommendation which will be designed to provide bilingual federal services in an area including the cities of Niagara Falls and St. Catharines.⁸⁷

872. In 1971 the French mother tongue population of the two cities of Welland and Port Colborne amounted to 9,355 individuals, or 14.2 per cent. Although there were only a modest number of federal offices located in the two cities, the total number and the percentage of the minority certainly seemed to the Board to warrant the recommendation of a bilingual district.

Recommendation

873. **The Board, with near unanimity, recommends the establishment of a bilingual district named Welland in the area previously described.**

5. Windsor—Tilbury

a. description

the bilingual district of Windsor—Tilbury consists of the census subdivisions of Anderdon, Col-

chester North, Maidstone, Rochester, Sandwich South, Sandwich West, Tilbury North and Tilbury West, the city of Windsor, the towns of Belle River, Essex and Tecumseh, and the village of St. Clair Beach, in the census division of Essex; the census subdivisions of Dover and Tilbury East, and the town of Tilbury, in the census division of Kent.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percent-age
Essex, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Anderdon.....	4,665	800	17.1
Colchester North.....	3,065	355	11.6
Maidstone.....	7,735	1,120	14.5
Rochester.....	3,640	1,345	37.0
Sandwich South.....	4,845	645	13.3
Sandwich West.....	12,105	1,815	15.0
Tilbury North.....	2,645	1,400	52.9
Tilbury West.....	1,705	335	19.6
city			
Windsor.....	203,300	14,305	7.0
towns			
Belle River.....	2,875	1,015	35.3
Essex.....	4,000	150	3.8
Tecumseh.....	5,165	1,350	26.1
village			
St. Clair Beach.....	1,985	150	7.6
Kent, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Dover.....	4,420	1,580	35.7
Tilbury East.....	3,010	305	10.1
town			
Tilbury.....	3,580	965	27.0
total.....	268,740	27,635	10.3

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Windsor—Tilbury is located in the federal electoral districts of Windsor—Walkerville and Windsor West, and in part of the federal electoral districts of Essex—Windsor, Kent—Essex and Lambton—Kent; it is located in the provincial electoral districts of Sandwich—Riverside, Windsor—Walkerville and Windsor West, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Chatham—Kent, Essex—Kent and Essex South.

Details

874. The bilingual district recommended by the Board consists of a northern portion of the census division of Essex and a small western part of the census division

⁸⁷ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 195-199, pp. 30-31, and *infra*, paragraphs 897-904, pp. 132-133, and Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

of Kent. The area is located in the southern extremity of Ontario bordering on Lake St. Clair. Long familiar to fur traders during the French regime, the area more recently has had a very sizable French mother tongue population which has been attracted by employment in local industry.

Essex

875. In 1971 the census division of Essex, which is identical to the county of that name, had a French mother tongue population amounting to 26,155 persons, or 8.5 per cent. Because the proportion of the minority was less than ten per cent, the entire county was not eligible to be recommended as a bilingual district.

876. However, there were in Essex some sizable concentrations of the minority exceeding ten per cent. By a convenient occurrence, they formed one continuous area in the northern segment of the county. The area, moreover, included in 1971 all of the census subdivisions in Essex that had a French mother tongue minority amounting to at least ten per cent. Thus it was possible to demarcate a compact area which might have been recommended as a bilingual district.

877. There were, however, two difficulties, one concerning Essex and the other concerning Kent. In Essex the area mentioned did not include the city of Windsor, which contained many local and regional federal governmental offices. Although the city of Windsor had 14,305 persons of French mother tongue, they amounted to only 7.0 per cent. Yet it seemed inconceivable to omit Windsor from a prospective bilingual district since it was the metropolitan centre in which most residents in the region obtained their federal services.

Kent

878. The census division of Kent, which is identical to the county of Kent, is located immediately to the east of Essex. In 1971 the county of Kent had only three census subdivisions which had French mother tongue populations amounting to at least ten per cent. The rural census subdivision of Dover had 1,580 members of the minority, constituting 35.7 per cent of the population, while the census subdivision of Tilbury East immediately to the south had an additional 305 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 10.1 per cent of the population. Finally, the town of Tilbury,

which was encompassed by the rural census subdivision of Tilbury East, had 965 members of the minority mother tongue, amounting to 27.0 per cent.

879. Since the major urban centre in Kent county was Chatham, which adjoined the south-east corner of the census subdivision of Dover, the Board examined the possibility of creating a separate bilingual district in Kent county composed of Dover, Tilbury East, Tilbury, and Chatham. However, this option turned out to be impossible since the French mother tongue population in the area amounted to only 8.6 per cent.

880. Because Chatham had such a relatively small number and proportion of the minority, amounting to 1,125 persons or 3.2 per cent, we then considered the possibility of disregarding Chatham entirely and finding another solution for Dover, Tilbury East, and Tilbury. Since the aggregate of the French mother tongue populations in these three localities was relatively small, amounting to 2,850 persons, and many of the residents in these rural census subdivisions obtained their federal services elsewhere, we decided that a feasible solution was to attach these three localities in Kent to the bilingual district contemplated in Essex. There was no difficulty in junction since these localities were contiguous with Essex.

Visits and Consultations

881. To investigate these problems on the spot and to obtain the opinion of local residents, a team of Board members visited the areas in Essex and Kent, holding consultations in Windsor and Chatham. In Windsor we met with two groups, one consisting of French mother tongue persons active in their community, and the other composed of elected and appointed public officials and spokesmen for business, most of whom were of English mother tongue. In Chatham we consulted with six elected municipal authorities and one appointed official. Some members of the Board also met on two occasions an additional elected representative from the region.

Findings

882. We noted from the statistics that there had been a perceptible decline in the French mother tongue population in the census division of Essex and in almost every census subdivision within it between the two censuses in 1961 and 1971. Thus, the minority mother tongue group in the county of Essex, for example, had decreased from 10.8 per cent to 8.5 per cent during the decade.

WINDSOR - TILBURY

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

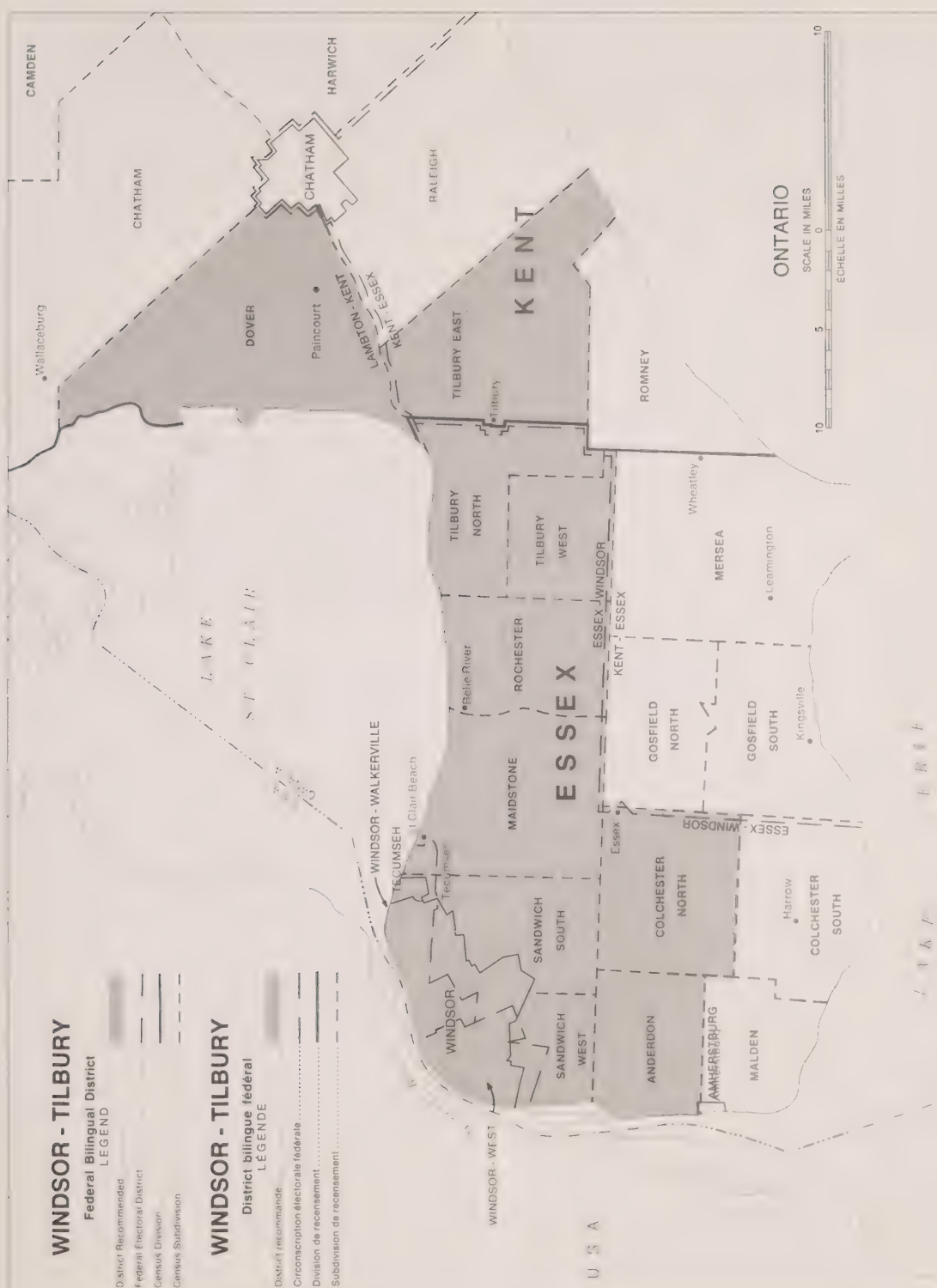
- District Recommended
- Federal Electoral District
- Census Division
- Census Subdivision

WINDSOR - TILBURY

District bilingue fédéral

LEGENDE

- District recommandé
- Circonscription électorale fédérale
- Division de recensement
- Subdivision de recensement



ONTARIO

SCALE IN MILES

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ECHELLE EN MILLES

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883. Our respondents at the meetings acknowledged that there was a problem of assimilation of the minority in the area, but set it within the context of the impact of the neighbouring American culture which, they said, was affecting Anglophones as well as Francophones. One person gave us, as an index of American influence, the startling information that half of the households in Windsor received an American newspaper each day and that 26,000 Canadians had credit cards issued by a large department store in Detroit.

884. Although bilingual services were available in some federal facilities, a number of persons complained that they did not extend to all departments and often were inadequate. They noted that there was a particular shortage in some higher echelons of certain branches of the federal government in Windsor. There was general agreement that the provision of bilingual federal services was particularly important in Windsor since, although there were some federal offices in Chatham, many residents in the western part of Kent came to Windsor to obtain their federal services. We were told that the need was all the greater because there were a certain number of unilingual French persons in the area, most of whom were new arrivals, including seasonal workers, from other parts of Ontario or from Quebec or New Brunswick.

885. There was great appreciation and enthusiasm among the Francophones for the French radio station which had recently been established in Windsor by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. They believed that it was of very great importance in undergirding the Francophone culture in the region. The members of the minority whom we met were very much in favour of the establishment of a bilingual district in the area. They did not believe that its establishment would create a backlash since there now appeared to be a greater acceptance of the French presence in the region.

886. There was no objection to a bilingual district from the elected and appointed local officials and business spokesmen with whom we consulted in Windsor. They believed that the area which we contemplated as a possible district was reasonable since it included most of the French mother tongue concentrations. However, it was suggested that we might omit the two census subdivisions of Anderdon and Colchester North, since the former had only 800 persons of French mother tongue in 1971 and the latter only 355. There was general approval of our proposal to omit the town of Amherstburg which had only 230 French mother tongue persons amounting to 4.4 per cent.

887. The additional elected representative from the area whom we met was in favour of a bilingual district in the suggested region. He believed that there were signs that the trend in the decline of the French-speaking population might be reversed in the near future since younger Francophones were now more interested in their culture than they had been.

888. When we consulted with the elected representatives in Chatham and informed them that it was unlikely that the city of Chatham would be included in a bilingual district, they did not seem to be too disappointed. They noted that there had been considerable surprise in Chatham when the First Board recommended that Chatham be included in a bilingual district. They confirmed that most people in the area travelled to Windsor to obtain many of their federal services. Finally, they agreed with the view of those people in Windsor who had suggested that the census subdivisions of Anderdon and Colchester North should be omitted from a bilingual district.

Summation

889. Having reviewed the evidence, the Board made several decisions. First, we decided that it was essential to include the city of Windsor within a potential bilingual district because so many federal local and regional offices were located there.

890. Second, we concluded that the census subdivisions of Dover, Tilbury East, and Tilbury in Kent county should be added to the eligible area in Essex to form a single bilingual district rather than that two districts be created in adjoining areas.

891. Third, after reflection, we decided to include the census subdivisions of Anderdon and Colchester North in the proposed bilingual district, despite advice to the contrary. Our reasoning was that the minority resident in these two localities, though small in total number, still amounted to 1,155 persons, and each of the two census subdivisions had more than the ten per cent of the minority required for a bilingual district. These two localities also had been included within the bilingual district recommended by the First Board.

892. The entire area proposed as a bilingual district by the present Board is identical with that proposed by the First Board except that our recommendation does not include the city of Chatham. In 1971 the French mother tongue population in the proposed bilingual district amounted to 27,635 persons, or 10.3 per cent.

Recommendation

893. The Board recommends nearly unanimously the establishment of a bilingual district called Windsor—Tilbury, to be comprised in the manner noted above.

Large Urban Centres For Which Bilingual Services Are Recommended Under Sections 9(2) and 10

894. We have explained previously the reasoning which led the Board to propose that bilingual federal services should be provided under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act, to the extent that it is possible, in all federal offices serving the public and located in large urban centres which in 1971 had at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the respective area.⁶⁸ We concluded that a similar proposal, without the requirement of a specific number of persons, should be made in respect to all provincial capitals.⁶⁹

895. The specific recommendations which we shall make in regard to these two matters will be presented formally in Part III of this report, entitled Supplementary Recommendations.⁷⁰

896. Here we wish merely to note that the two large urban centres in Ontario for which bilingual federal services would be provided by this means would be the census metropolitan areas of St. Catharines—Niagara and Toronto. It is perhaps worth adding in passing that even if the census metropolitan area of Toronto had not qualified for inclusion within this group of large urban centres, it would have been contained within the list of provincial capitals for which we are proposing the provision of bilingual federal services.

(1) St. Catharines—Niagara

897. The census metropolitan area of St. Catharines—Niagara occupies the eastern extremity of the Niagara Peninsula between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. Its component census subdivisions and their numbers and percentages of persons whose language most often spoken at home in 1971 was French are given in the geostatistical description of the area in Part III of this report.⁷¹ A map of the area accompanies the description.

898. We shall simply give here the summary details and the evidence which we acquired from a consultation with some residents of the region. In 1971 the census metropolitan area of St. Catharines—Niagara had 10,720 persons, amounting to 3.5 per cent, whose language most often spoken at home was French.

899. For purposes of clarity, it should be pointed out that since the census metropolitan area of St. Catharines—Niagara included the cities of Welland and Port Colborne, for which the Board has already recommended a bilingual district,⁷² some of this aggregate of 10,720 persons undoubtedly would be French mother tongue persons resident in Welland and Port Colborne who would receive bilingual federal services in those two localities if our recommendation of a bilingual district there were adopted. Although the present recommendation for St. Catharines—Niagara therefore repeats in a sense the recommendation for bilingual services in those two localities, the essential point is that it attempts to supply bilingual federal services in a much more extensive census metropolitan area. The major implication of our present recommendation is thus not redundant.

900. We should explain also that we do not think that there is a redundancy if some of the persons of French mother tongue resident in Welland and Port Colborne were included in the aggregate of persons in St. Catharines—Niagara whose language most often spoken at home was French. Undoubtedly some of the French mother tongue individuals from Welland and Port Colborne would wish to have services in their own language in federal offices beyond the confines of their bilingual district, for instance, in regional offices in St. Catharines and Niagara Falls, or perhaps at international border-crossing points. These federal offices and their bilingual services in St. Catharines—Niagara would no doubt be used also by members of the minority from many additional localities. The issue, therefore, is the provision of bilingual federal services in a large census metropolitan area rather than the domicile of the persons who use them.

Consultation

901. Although the Board did not visit this region, a team of Board members consulted with several residents from the area in a meeting held in Toronto.

902. We were told that there was an insufficiency of federal services in French in the St. Catharines—Niagara region. The federal government was attempting

⁶⁸ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 187-201, pp. 29-31.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Part I, paragraphs 202-211, pp. 31-32.

⁷⁰ *Infra*, Part III, paragraphs 1156-1160, p. 176.

⁷¹ *Infra*, Part III, pp. 184-185.

⁷² *Supra*, paragraphs 866-873, pp. 128-129.

to furnish more services in French but as yet the needs had not been met. It was difficult to receive clearly, for example, the programs emanating from the French television channel in Toronto. Those present acknowledged that many French-speaking persons did not ask for federal services in their own language, probably because they were accustomed to having to use English. Our respondents suggested that federal offices providing bilingual services should make that fact known by some kind of notice or publicity.⁷³

903. It also was suggested that since the census metropolitan area of St. Catharines—Niagara did not qualify as a bilingual district, the federal government should make use of Section 9(2) of the Official Languages Act to provide bilingual federal services in the region. The supplementary recommendation which will be presented formally in Part III would fulfil that request.⁷⁴

Note

904. The Board draws attention to the fact that the census metropolitan area of St. Catharines—Niagara will be among the list of large urban centres for which the Board will make a supplementary recommendation proposing that bilingual federal services be provided.⁷⁵

(2) Toronto

905. The census metropolitan area of Toronto is located on the northern bank of Lake Ontario near its western extremity. Its component census subdivisions and their numbers and percentages of persons whose language most often spoken at home in 1971 was French are given in the geostatistical description of the area in Part III of this report.⁷⁶ A map of the area accompanies the description.

906. In 1971 the census metropolitan area of Toronto had 20,580 persons, amounting to 0.8 per cent, whose language most often spoken at home was French.

907. Toronto was a classic illustration of the need to provide bilingual federal services by some other means than bilingual districts. Although the French mother

tongue population of the census metropolitan area of Toronto amounted in 1971 to 45,570 persons, it constituted only 1.7 per cent of the total population. The minority was distributed so extensively throughout the area that there was not a single census subdivision or census tract in which it attained ten per cent; therefore, there was no possibility of recommending a bilingual district.

908. Yet in this census metropolitan area of 2,628,125 persons there were very many federal local and regional offices, and no doubt many travellers and visitors who, in addition to the very large number of residents of French mother tongue, might wish to have federal services in French.

Visit and Consultations

909. As previously mentioned, a team of Board members visited Toronto and held a meeting attended by French mother tongue persons from the vicinity. We were told that a number of federal governmental offices in Toronto provided bilingual services, although on occasion patience was required if one was to obtain service in French. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation had both a French radio station and a French television channel in Toronto. We gained the impression that Toronto was rather well provided with federal bilingual services in contrast to a number of other localities, although there was still room for improvement apparently in some federal offices.

910. On another occasion a member of the Board availed himself of an opportunity to consult with an elected representative from the region of Toronto. He was very strongly in favour of the provision of federal bilingual services in Toronto.

Note

911. The Board draws attention to the fact that the census metropolitan area of Toronto will be among the list of large urban centres for which the Board will make a supplementary recommendation proposing that bilingual federal services be provided.⁷⁷

⁷³ This suggestion will be sponsored by the Board *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 3, paragraphs 1161-1163, p. 176.

⁷⁴ *Infra*, Part III, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

⁷⁶ *Infra*, Part III, pp. 186-187.

⁷⁷ *Infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

Manitoba

Introduction

912. On September 24, 1738 La Vérendrye and his men reached the fork of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers at the site now called Winnipeg. Since that date, there have always been French-speaking citizens in the province of Manitoba.

913. Button, Kelsey, and Selkirk and his settlers came by way of Hudson's Bay. Selkirk found so many French Canadians in the area that shortly after his arrival, he requested the Roman Catholic bishop in Quebec to send priests to attend to these souls. French was so common as the language of communication in the area that David Williams Harmon, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote in his journal that he spent a full year without being able to speak English. Provencher, Dumoulin, and Hedge arrived in 1818 and a few months later Provencher invited into his modest home children of the settlement to whom he began to teach French and Latin. This was the beginning of what is now le Collège de Saint-Boniface.

914. When Manitoba entered Confederation in 1870, the population was almost equally divided between English- and French-speaking persons, so much so that the three delegates appointed by the provisional government of Manitoba to negotiate with the Ottawa authorities obtained the inclusion in the Manitoba Act, 1870, of Section 23. This section was practically a word for word copy of Section 133 of the British North America Act, 1867, which guaranteed the right to use French as well as English in the courts and legislative bodies.

915. In 1890 section 23 of the Manitoba Act was revoked. A new statute was passed proclaiming English the official language. Twenty-six years later, the government of Manitoba closed the only French language teacher training school. At the same time it closed similar schools serving the German, Ukrainian, and Icelandic groups.

916. Not until 1967 was French authorized again as a language of instruction, although only for certain sub-

jects. In 1970, when the Public Schools Act was amended to make English and French languages of instruction in the public schools of the province, the necessary regulations were passed. Thus, in theory and on paper the spirit of 1870 has returned. The application of the law will be tested by the passage of time. At present the motives and the spirit are good. In 1974 a new French language teacher training school was officially opened with the assistance of the federal and provincial governments.

917. Since 1738 French language and culture have continued to survive in Manitoba, at least in certain areas. In 1971 there were within the province 60,545 persons whose mother tongue was French. They have institutions which cater to their needs and they intend to maintain them, although it is difficult to do so; at times there are signs of weakness, but great efforts have been made to persist.

Eligible Areas Not Recommended as Bilingual Districts

918. All but a very few of the census subdivisions in Manitoba which in 1971 had a French mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent of the respective total population have been included, in whole or in part, within one or another of the bilingual districts which the Board is recommending.

919. There were only six eligible census subdivisions which have been omitted. In each case the French mother tongue population was so small, the maximum being 270 persons, that the Board did not believe that we should recommend a separate bilingual district. The alternative of suggesting that the area be attached to a nearby bilingual district was impossible since each of the areas was isolated, either in the south-west of the province or in the north.

Comparison With Recommendations of First Board

920. The areas proposed as bilingual districts by the present Board are almost identical with those recom-

mended by the First Board.⁷⁸ Where there have been changes in the boundaries of proposed bilingual districts, these alterations are noted in the explanation of the district. The one major difference between the recommendations of the two Boards is that the First Board recommended a total of eight bilingual districts while the present Board is proposing six. The latter total is less because the present Board combined into one proposed bilingual district, called St. Boniface—Rouge—Seine, three areas which the First Board had recommended as separate bilingual districts.

Reconsideration of Additional Areas

921. The First Board recommended that five additional areas be reconsidered after the results of the census of 1971 were available.⁷⁹ We have reviewed each of these areas and in some cases have included portions of them in a relevant proposed bilingual district.

Bilingual Districts Recommended in the Province of Manitoba

1. Ellice—St. Lazare

a. description

the bilingual district of Ellice—St. Lazare consists of the census subdivision of Ellice, and the village of St. Lazare, in census division No. 13.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 13 (pt) subdivision			
Ellice.....	640	310	48.4
village			
St. Lazare.....	430	310	72.1
total.....	1,070	620	57.9

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Ellice—St. Lazare is located in part of the federal electoral district of Marquette, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Birtle—Russell.

⁷⁸ See *Recommendations of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board*, March, 1971, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1971, pp. 61-70.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

Details

922. The bilingual district recommended by the Board is comprised of the census subdivision of Ellice and the village of St. Lazare, both of which are part of census division Number 13 in Manitoba. Ellice—St. Lazare is a very small area situated on the western boundary of Manitoba where the Qu'Appelle River flows into Manitoba from Saskatchewan.

923. In 1971 the census subdivision of Ellice had 310 persons of French mother tongue amounting to 48.4 per cent. The village of St. Lazare also had 310 residents of French mother tongue but they constituted 72.1 per cent of the respective population. The proposed bilingual district therefore had a total of 620 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 57.9 per cent of the total population. Although it had the second smallest minority population of any of the bilingual districts which we are proposing, its proportion of the national minority official language group was so large that in this area the French mother tongue group constituted the majority. We therefore believed that we should consider the locality as a potential bilingual district. Since it was predominantly a rural area, it had very few federal offices.

Consultations

924. Although the Board did not visit the area, a team of Board members consulted with an elected representative from the region. The Board also met with two official representatives of the provincial government of Manitoba.

925. The elected representative was very strongly in favour of Ellice—St. Lazare being recommended as a bilingual district. He noted that the village of St. Lazare was predominantly French and that the Francophones wished to retain their identity. Most of the French-speaking residents were bilingual and they found that capacity advantageous in obtaining employment. His experience indicated that there were very few unilingual Francophones in the area.

Position of the Provincial Government

926. When several Board members consulted with two spokesmen for the government of Manitoba, we were informed that the provincial government fully supported the principle of bilingual districts. The officials also endorsed the specific bilingual districts which the Board was contemplating and which will be recommended subsequently in this section of our report. Their

approval therefore pertained not only to Ellice—St. Lazare but also to the other bilingual districts proposed for Manitoba. For the sake of brevity, we shall not repeat the point in the descriptions of the bilingual districts which follow. The provincial government's caveat was that the Board should abstain from delineating boundaries for bilingual districts which were so irregular that they might appear to be contrived and strained.

Conclusion

927. Some members of the Board had reservations about proposing a bilingual district for Ellice—St. Lazare since the area had such a small number of members of the official language minority and so few federal offices. However, in view of the large percentage of the minority and the opinions we had received and because we believed that a bilingual district might assist the minority in preserving its culture and in obtaining services in its own language in other governmental offices, a majority of the Board decided to recommend a bilingual district.

Recommendation

928. A majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district known as Ellice—St. Lazare, to be comprised as previously described.

2. Lawrence—Ste. Rose

a. description

the bilingual district of Lawrence—Ste. Rose consists of the census subdivision of Ste. Rose, and the village of Ste. Rose du Lac, in census division No. 17 and the census subdivision of Lawrence, in census division No. 18.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 17 (pt) subdivision			
Ste. Rose.....	1,225	730	59.6
village			
Ste. Rose du Lac.....	815	375	46.0
Division No. 18 (pt) subdivision			
Lawrence.....	1,095	125	11.4
total.....	3,135	1,230	39.2

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Lawrence—Ste. Rose is located in part of the federal electoral district of Dauphin, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Ste. Rose.

Details

929. The bilingual district recommended by the Board is comprised of the census subdivision of Ste. Rose and the village of Ste. Rose du Lac in census division Number 17 and the census subdivision of Lawrence in census division Number 18. The three localities form a continuous area immediately to the north-east and south-east of Dauphin Lake in south-central Manitoba.

930. In 1971 the census subdivision of Ste. Rose had a French mother tongue population amounting to 730 persons or 59.6 per cent. The village of Ste. Rose du Lac had 375 French mother tongue residents, amounting to 46.0 per cent. At the same time the census subdivision of Lawrence had 125 members of the minority, constituting 11.4 per cent. Since the entire area was rural, there were few federal offices in any part of it.

Three Possibilities

931. Inasmuch as Ste. Rose du Lac was encompassed by the census subdivision of Ste. Rose, the two localities formed a compact area while Lawrence was an additional adjacent area to the north. The Board therefore believed that there were three possibilities: first, to recommend or not to recommend a bilingual district in any part of the area; second, if the answer to the first question was affirmative, to recommend only the compact area in Ste. Rose; or third, to recommend the entire area of Ste. Rose and Lawrence.

Consultation

932. Although the Board did not visit the locality, several members of the Board consulted with an elected representative from the region. He expressed himself in favour of the establishment of a bilingual district in the area, but he was of the opinion that it should not include either Lawrence or the southern part of the census subdivision of Ste. Rose since both areas were heavily populated by non-French-speaking persons. He added that the village of Ste. Rose du Lac was the site of the federal offices which existed in the area and that the village had always been bilingual.

Summation

933. After some discussion, a majority of the Board concluded that a bilingual district should be recommended for the combined area of Ste. Rose, Ste. Rose du Lac, and Lawrence. Since Ste. Rose and Ste. Rose du Lac together had a total French mother tongue population of 1,105 persons, amounting to 54.2 per cent, even this area had a greater number and a larger percentage of the minority than several other areas that the Board was prepared to recommend as bilingual districts.

934. Having reasoned thus, we believed that the census subdivision of Lawrence should be added since, although it contained only 125 members of the minority and the First Board had not included it in its comparable recommendation, it seemed plausible that the area should be conjoined with an adjacent bilingual district. The total number of French mother tongue persons in the combined area was 1,230, amounting to 39.2 per cent.

Recommendation

935. A majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district in the area previously described as Lawrence—Ste. Rose.

3. Mountain School Division

a. description

the bilingual district of Mountain School Division consists of the territory of this school division, which comprises, in whole or in part, the enumeration area (E.A.) No. 166 of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 604 (Lisgar), in census division No. 2; the enumeration areas No. 208, 256, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270 and 272 of the federal electoral district No. 604 (Lisgar), and the village of Somerset, in census division No. 3; the enumeration areas No. 016, 017 and 018 of the federal electoral district No. 606 (Portage), and the village of St. Claude, in census division No. 6; and the enumeration areas No. 301, 302, 303 and 305 of the federal electoral district No. 604 (Lisgar), and the village of Notre Dame de Lourdes, in census division No. 7.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 2 (pt)			
E.D. E.A.			
604 166 (pt).....	450	110	24.4
Division No. 3 (pt)			
E.D. E.A.			
604 208 (pt).....	240	40	16.7
604 256 (pt).....	195	50	25.6
604 263	335	260	77.6
604 264 (pt).....	390	40	10.3
604 265 (pt).....	460	130	28.3
604 266 (pt).....	190	35	18.4
604 267	325	135	41.5
604 268 (pt).....	270	15	5.6
604 269 (pt).....	245	200	81.6
604 270 (pt).....	165	115	69.7
604 272	230	—	—
village			
Somerset.....	650	430	66.2
Division No. 6 (pt)			
E.D. E.A.			
606 016 (pt).....	415	330	79.5
606 017 (pt).....	250	220	88.0
606 018 (pt).....	300	210	70.0
village			
St. Claude.....	675	565	83.7
Division No. 7 (pt)			
E.D. E.A.			
604 301 (pt).....	205	175	85.4
604 302 (pt).....	205	150	73.2
604 303 (pt).....	195	40	20.5
604 305 (pt).....	285	85	29.8
village			
Notre Dame de			
Lourdes.....	610	560	91.8
total.....	7,285	3,895	53.5

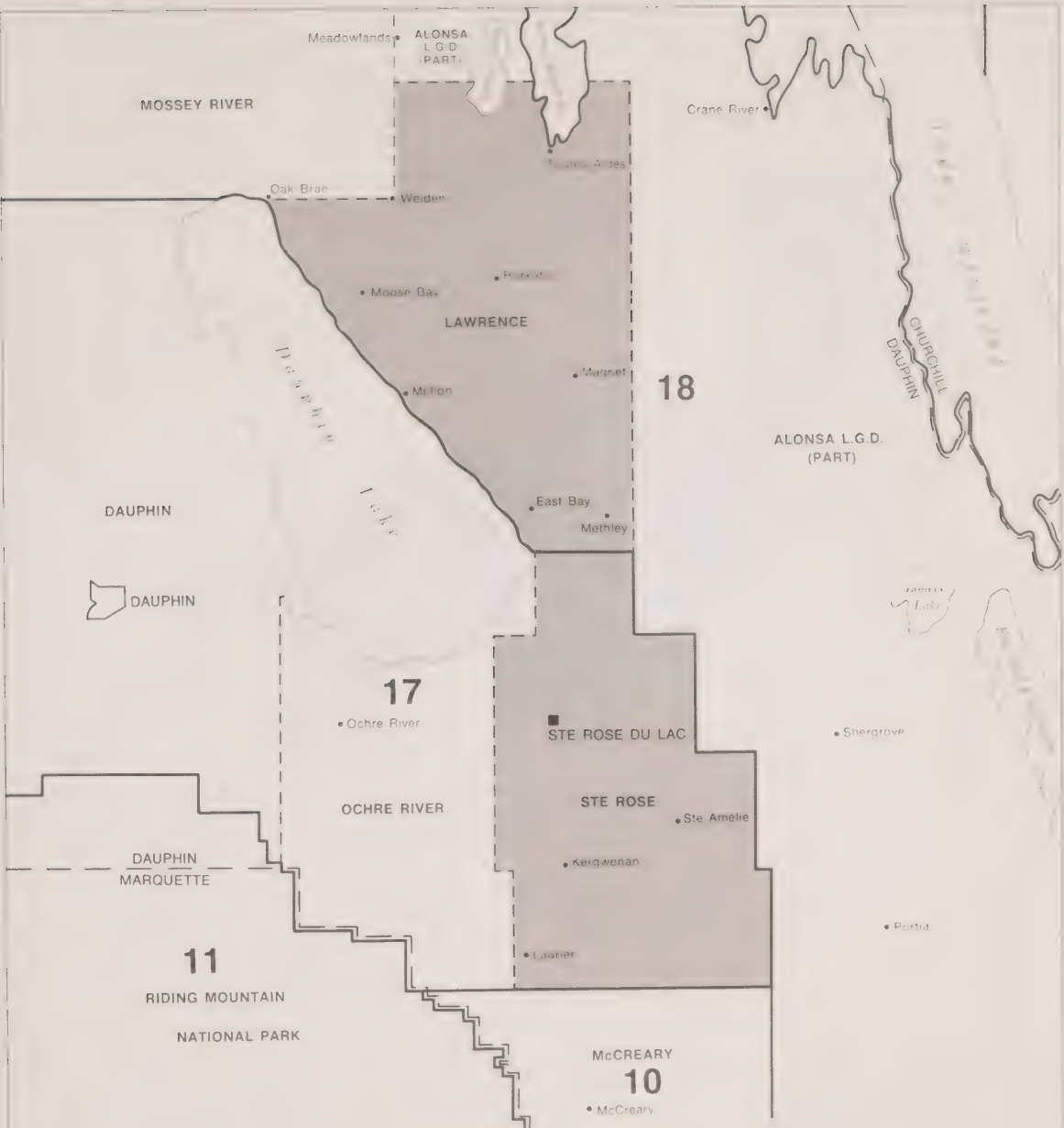
Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area, even where only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Mountain School Division is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Lisgar and Portage, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Morris, Pembina and Rock Lake.

Details

936. The bilingual district recommended by the Board consists of the school division of this name which includes a certain number of enumeration areas, in whole or in part, within census divisions Numbers 2, 3, 6, and 7, and the villages of Somerset, St. Claude, and Notre Dame de Lourdes. The area is located in the central southern region of Manitoba.



LAWRENCE-STE ROSE

Federal Bilingual District
LEGENDE

District Recommended	
Federal Electoral District	17
Census Division	
Census Subdivision	

Produced by the Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa, Canada

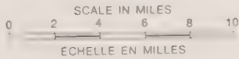
LAWRENCE-SAINTE-ROSE

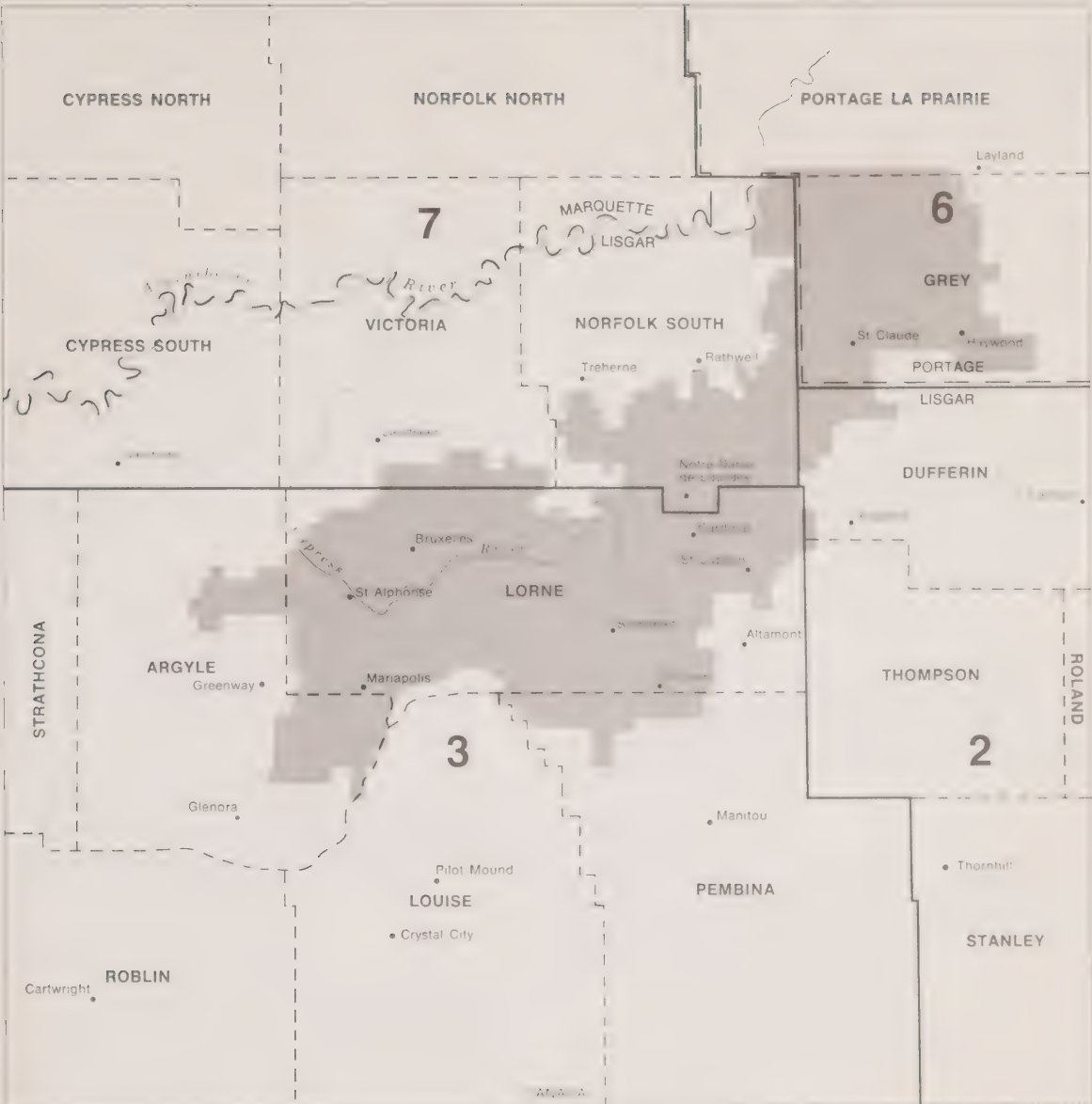
District bilingue fédéral
LEGENDE

District recommandé	
Circonscription électorale fédérale	17
Division de recensement	
Subdivision de recensement	

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MANITOBA





MOUNTAIN SCHOOL DIVISION

Federal Bilingual District
LÉGENDE

District Recommended	
Federal Electoral District	3
Census Division	
Census Subdivision	

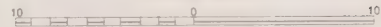
DIVISION SCOLAIRE DE LA MONTAGNE

District bilingue fédéral
LÉGENDE

District recommandé	
Circonscription électorale fédérale	3
Division de recensement	
Subdivision de recensement	

MANITOBA

SCALE IN MILES



ECHELLE EN MILLES

937. In 1971 the French mother tongue population of this area amounted to 3,895 persons or 53.5 per cent. The boundaries delineated by the Board were selected to conform to the pattern of substantial concentration of persons of French mother tongue in this part of Manitoba, omitting areas which were heavily populated by residents of a mother tongue other than French.

938. Thus, persons of French mother tongue amounted to less than ten per cent in only two of the 22 enumeration areas and villages comprising the proposed bilingual district. In each of 11 enumeration areas and villages, the proportion of French mother tongue persons amounted to much more than fifty per cent, exceeding seventy-five per cent in seven instances.

939. The boundaries of the proposed bilingual district are identical to those of the similar district recommended by the First Board. Since the area was predominantly rural, there were few federal offices located in it.

Consultation

940. The Board did not visit this area but several members of the Board consulted with an elected representative from the region. He raised no objection to the proposed bilingual district.

Recommendation

941. The Board recommends by somewhat more than a majority the establishment of a bilingual district called Mountain School Division, to be comprised in the manner already indicated.

4. Powerview—St. George

a. description

the bilingual district of Powerview—St. George consists of the census subdivision of Alexander, Local Government District (L.G.D.), (part) (main part), and the villages of Great Falls and Powerview, in census division No. 19.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 19 (pt)			
subdivision			
Alexander L.G.D.			
(pt) (main part)....	1,580	635	40.2
villages			
Great Falls.....	200	20	10.0
Powerview.....	670	245	36.6
total.....	2,450	900	36.7

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Powerview—St. George is located in part of the federal electoral district of Provencher and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Lac du Bonnet and Rupertsland.

Details

942. The bilingual district recommended by the Board is composed of the census subdivision of Alexander, Local Government District (main part), and the villages of Great Falls and Powerview, which are all located in census division Number 19. The area extends east from the south-eastern border of Lake Winnipeg.

943. In 1971 the proposed bilingual district had a French mother tongue population amounting to 900 persons or 36.7 per cent. Since the area was very rural and sparsely settled, there were few federal offices situated in it. The same area, under a somewhat altered name, had been recommended as a bilingual district by the First Board.

Consultation

944. Although the Board did not visit this area, several members of the Board consulted with an elected representative from the region. While he did not offer a categorical opinion, he conveyed the impression that he was not in favour of bilingual districts in principle.

Recommendation

945. Somewhat more than a majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district known as Powerview—St. George, to be comprised in the manner previously indicated.

5. St. Boniface—Rouge—Seine

a. description

the bilingual district of St. Boniface—Rouge—Seine consists of census tracts (C.T.) No. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, and 105 (former city of St. Vital), and census tracts No. 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116 and 117 (former city of St. Boniface), in census division No. 20; the territory of the Red River School Division, which includes, in whole or in part, the enumeration areas (E.A.) No. 015 and 016 of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 604 (Lisgar), the enumeration areas No. 113, 114, 115, 159, 160,

161, 162 and 164 of the federal electoral district No. 607 (Provencher), and the village of St. Pierre, in census division No. 1; the enumeration areas No. 001, 002, 003, 004 and 011 of the federal electoral district No. 604 (Lisgar), and the enumeration areas No. 116 and 117 of the federal electoral district No. 607 (Provencher), in census division No. 2; and the territory of the Seine River School Division, which includes, in whole or in part, the enumeration areas No. 001 and 002 of the federal electoral district No. 606 (Portage), the enumeration areas No. 051, 053, 167, 168, 169, 201, 202, 203, 204, 207, 208 and 209 of the federal electoral district No. 607 (Provencher), the enumeration areas No. 001, 002 and 003 of the federal electoral district No. 608, (St. Boniface), and the village of Ste. Anne, in census division No. 1; the enumeration areas No. 003 and 005 of the federal electoral district No. 606 (Portage), in census division No. 6; the enumeration areas No. 008, 009 and 305 of the federal electoral district No. 607 (Provencher), in census division No. 19; and the enumeration areas No. 001, 002 and 003 of census tract No. 500 (part of the census subdivision of Fort Garry), in census division No. 20.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 20 (pt)			
C.T.			
100.....	1,485	245	16.5
101.....	8,095	610	7.5
102.....	11,530	1,325	11.5
103.....	3,845	145	3.8
104.....	3,905	370	9.5
105.....	4,110	725	17.6
110.....	6,415	830	12.9
111.....	6,480	910	14.0
112.....	9,180	1,560	17.0
113.....	4,310	1,385	32.1
114.....	4,790	2,000	41.8
115.....	4,140	690	16.7
116.....	7,850	4,625	58.9
117.....	3,550	2,430	68.5
Red River School Division			
Division No. 1 (pt)			
E.D. E.A.			
604 015	150	135	90.0
604 016	260	240	92.3
607 113	585	570	97.4
607 114 (pt).....	255	220	86.3

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Red River School Division			
Division No. 1 (pt)			
E.D. E.A.			
607 115 (pt).....	265	95	35.8
607 159 (pt).....	325	205	63.1
607 160	605	435	71.9
607 161	25	—	—
607 162	340	160	47.1
607 164	295	115	39.0
village			
St. Pierre.....	850	720	84.7
Division No. 2 (pt)			
E.D. E.A.			
604 001 (pt).....	445	225	50.6
604 002 (pt).....	290	185	63.8
604 003 (pt).....	210	185	88.1
604 004	625	535	85.6
604 011 (pt).....	600	110	18.3
607 116 (pt).....	390	280	71.8
607 117 (pt).....	360	205	56.9
Seine River School Division			
Division No. 1 (pt)			
E.D. E.A.			
606 001	110	25	22.7
606 002	355	40	11.3
607 051 (pt).....	630	455	72.2
607 053 (pt).....	465	275	59.1
607 167 (pt).....	790	325	41.1
607 168	770	550	71.4
607 169 (pt).....	465	155	33.3
607 201 (pt).....	360	215	59.7
607 202	550	505	91.8
607 203 (pt).....	660	170	25.8
607 204 (pt).....	460	295	64.1
607 207 (pt).....	225	125	55.6
607 208	390	230	59.0
607 209	315	100	31.7
608 001 (pt).....	660	310	47.0
608 002 (pt).....	700	465	66.4
608 003 (pt).....	420	120	28.6
village			
Ste. Anne.....	1,065	910	85.4
Division No. 6 (pt)			
E.D. E.A.			
606 003 (pt).....	505	190	37.6
606 005 (pt).....	415	95	22.9
Division No. 19 (pt)			
E.D. E.A.			
607 008 (pt).....	155	110	71.0
607 009	345	195	56.5
607 305 (pt).....	85	55	64.7
Division No. 20 (pt)			
C.T. E.A.			
500 001 (pt).....	1,085	305	28.1
500 002	725	400	55.2
500 003 (pt).....	895	385	43.0
total.....	100,160	29,475	29.4

Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area, even where only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

VICTORIA
BEACH

Traverse

UNORGANIZED

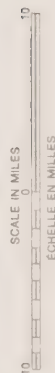


POWERVIEW - ST GEORGE

Federal Bilingual District
LEGENDE

District Recommended	.....
Federal Electoral District	.....
Census Division	.....
Census Subdivision	.....

MANITOBA



POWERVIEW-SAINT-GEORGES

District bilingue fédéral
LEGENDE

District recommandé	.....
Circoscription électorale fédérale	.....
Division de recensement	.....
Subdivision de recensement	.....

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of St. Boniface—Rouge—Seine is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Lisgar, Portage, Provencher, St. Boniface and Winnipeg South; it is located in the provincial electoral districts of Riel, St. Boniface and St. Vital, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Emerson, Fort Garry, La Verendrye, Morris, Radisson, Rhineland and Springfield.

Details

946. The bilingual district recommended by the Board consists of a number of localities which have been identified in various ways. The areas and their designations are as follows: certain census tracts, which include the former cities of St. Vital and St. Boniface, in census division Number 20; certain enumeration areas, in whole or in part, and the village of St. Pierre in the Red River School Division in census division Number 1; certain enumeration areas, in whole or in part, in census division Number 2; certain enumeration areas, in whole or in part, and the village of St. Anne in the Seine River School Division in census division Number 1; parts of two enumeration areas in census division Number 6; three enumeration areas, in whole or in part, in census division Number 19; and three enumeration areas which are part of the census subdivision of Fort Garry in census division Number 20. The proposed bilingual district forms one continuous area extending south-east and south from Winnipeg.

947. In 1971 the designated area had a French mother tongue population amounting to 29,475 persons or 29.4 per cent of the total population. The Board selected the boundaries listed in order to include the areas in this part of Manitoba in which there were heavy concentrations of French mother tongue residents while omitting areas in which there were substantial proportions of persons of a mother tongue other than French.

948. Thus, persons of French mother tongue amounted to less than ten per cent in only four of the 58 components of the proposed bilingual district. In 29 of the components the minority official language group within the province was so large that it actually constituted a majority locally. In nine of the components the propor-

tion of the French mother tongue group exceeded eighty per cent.

949. The proposed bilingual district is essentially a combination of the three bilingual districts of Red River School Division, Seine River School Division, and St. Boniface, which were recommended by the First Board. Thus, the boundaries of the proposed bilingual district are almost identical to the sum of the boundaries of the three districts which were recommended formerly, except that our Board has added a portion of the environs known as St. Vital and St. Norbert. For clarity, it might be noted that since the census of 1971 one large city of Winnipeg has been created, incorporating a number of the former cities and localities in the area.

950. Since most of the proposed bilingual district of St. Boniface—Rouge—Seine was situated in an area that was predominantly rural, there were relatively few federal governmental offices in the area. Even the portion of the proposed district that was located in urban areas, such as in the former cities of St. Boniface and St. Vital, had few significant federal offices since most of the latter were located on the other side of the Red River in what was then the city of Winnipeg.

Visit and Consultations

951. A team of Board members visited this area, holding consultations in St. Boniface, Ste. Anne, and Winnipeg. The meetings in St. Boniface and Ste. Anne were with French mother tongue groups. In Winnipeg we met with representatives of the provincial government in a consultation whose results have already been described and need not be repeated.⁸⁰ On two other occasions, several members of the Board consulted with three elected representatives from the region concerned.

Findings

952. The meeting in St. Boniface was attended by approximately twenty Franco-Manitobans from St. Boniface and other localities in the vicinity. We were told that the chief complaint was that there were fewer federal services in French than were desired. Most of the important local and regional federal offices were situated in the portion of the present city of Winnipeg that lay on the western side of the Red River beyond

⁸⁰ *Supra*, paragraph 926, pp. 136-137.

the area of concentration of persons of French mother tongue. Our respondents therefore wished to see the western part of Winnipeg, as well as the eastern, included within a bilingual district.

953. When we explained that it was impossible to include the western part of Winnipeg within a bilingual district because the proportion of persons of French mother tongue in that area was so small that it did not attain the required ten per cent, two other suggestions were offered. The first was that some federal offices might be relocated in the eastern portion of Winnipeg. The second was that we should ascertain if it was possible statistically to extend our proposed bilingual district to the western side of the Red River to include at least some of the federal offices situated there.

954. Some of those present at this meeting preferred several less extensive bilingual districts rather than the one larger district which we were proposing, but otherwise there was general agreement that the boundaries which we outlined were suitable.

955. At our second meeting, we found that despite the fact that Ste. Anne was a strong Francophone locality, having educational facilities and other community institutions in its own language, there were quite few federal services provided in French in the area. Our respondents wished to have a greater number of federal facilities supplied in French and to have them located in French-speaking communities such as Ste. Anne. They were also anxious that those federal services which already existed in the area should not be transferred to other localities.

956. Although they realized that this latter eventuality was possible if a larger bilingual district rather than a smaller district were established, they preferred on balance the more extensive bilingual district which we were proposing. They believed that a larger district might be of greater utility in assisting them to obtain in their area a greater measure of bilingual services from other governments than the federal government. They wished to secure, for instance, a regional technical secondary school which would have bilingual facilities.

957. Our subsequent meetings with three elected representatives from the region included one person whose views we have reported previously when we discussed another proposed bilingual district. He apparently was opposed in principle to bilingual districts. The second elected representative offered no opinion

on the general subject or on this specific proposed district. The third was very strongly in favour of the establishment of the proposed bilingual district.

Decisions

958. When we reviewed our findings, we made several decisions. First, we concluded that we should continue to favour the more extensive bilingual district in the area rather than several smaller districts. In making this decision, we believed we were acting in conformity with the predilection which we had followed usually elsewhere in the country.

959. Second, we did not think that it would be advisable to recommend the relocation of federal offices. Third, although we verified that it was possible statistically to extend the proposed bilingual district across the Red River to include some federal offices in the vicinity of the provincial legislative building, we decided not to make this recommendation. We believed that if we extended the boundaries in this fashion, this portion of the proposed bilingual district would have a contrived appearance that could be derided for being irregular. We also believed that the same objective could be achieved more satisfactorily by the supplementary recommendation which we shall offer shortly to provide bilingual federal services in Winnipeg by another means.

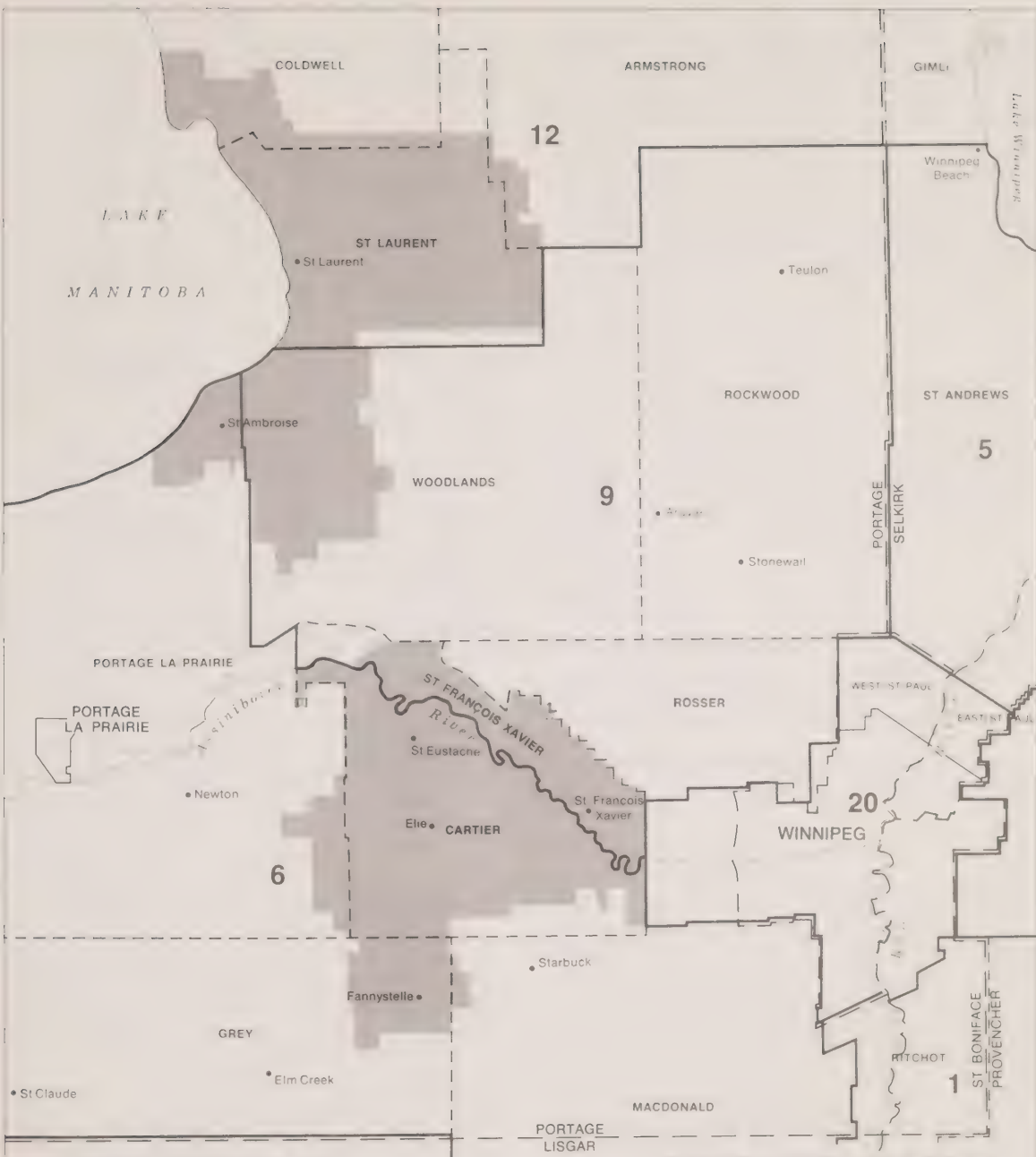
Recommendation

960. The Board unanimously recommends the establishment of a bilingual district known as St. Boniface—Rouge—Seine, to be comprised in the manner previously noted

6. White Horse Plain School Division

a. description

the bilingual district of White Horse Plain School Division consists of the territory of this school division, which includes, in whole or in part, the enumeration areas (E.A.) No. 011, 067, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156 and 157 of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 606 (Portage), in census division No. 6; the enumeration areas No. 166 and 253 of the federal electoral district No. 606 (Portage), in census division No. 9; and the enumeration areas No. 256, 257, 258 and 259 of the federal electoral district No. 606 (Portage), in census division No. 12.



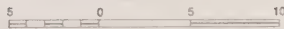
WHITE HORSE PLAIN SCHOOL DIVISION

Federal Bilingual District
LÉGENDE

District Recommended	6
Federal Electoral District	
Census Division	
Census Subdivision	

MANITOBA

SCALE IN MILES



ECHELLE EN MILLES

DIVISION SCOLAIRE DE LA PRAIRIE DU CHEVAL BLANC

District bilingue fédéral
LÉGENDE

District recommandé	6
Circonscription électorale fédérale	
Division de recensement	
Subdivision de recensement	

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision			total	French	percentage
Division No. 6 (pt)					
E.D.	E.A.				
606	011	(pt).....	400	185	46.3
606	067	(pt).....	425	245	57.6
606	151	(pt).....	575	110	19.1
606	152	.....	315	—	—
606	153	(pt).....	530	60	11.3
606	154	.....	250	210	84.0
606	155	.....	265	—	—
606	156	.....	385	280	72.7
606	157	.....	665	355	53.4
Division No. 9 (pt)					
E.D.	E.A.				
606	166	.....	415	130	31.3
606	253	(pt).....	235	10	4.3
Division No. 12 (pt)					
E.D.	E.A.				
606	256	(pt).....	330	115	34.8
606	257	.....	315	300	95.2
606	258	.....	285	260	91.2
606	259	.....	395	120	30.4
total.....			5,785	2,380	41.1

Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area, even where only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of White Horse Plain School Division is located in part of the federal electoral district of Portage, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Lakeside and Morris.

Details

961. The bilingual district recommended by the Board consists of the territory of the school division which includes, in whole or in part, various enumeration areas within census divisions Numbers 6, 9, and 12. The bilingual district has two separate portions, one situated on the south-eastern border of Lake Manitoba and the other directly to the south of the former.

962. In 1971 the French mother tongue populations in both portions of the proposed bilingual district amounted to 2,380 persons or 41.1 per cent. The minority was distributed throughout the two portions in such a fashion that although three of the 15 components had less than ten per cent of the minority, the remaining 12 components had substantial proportions of French mother tongue persons, amounting in six instances to more than fifty per cent and in three of these cases to more than eighty per cent.

963. It should be explained that this was the one instance in which the Board has proposed a bilingual district comprised of two separate parts. This step was taken to avoid the inclusion of the intervening area between the two parts since this area had a small proportion of persons of French mother tongue and a large percentage of individuals of other than French mother tongue. The First Board had adopted the same procedure. It had recommended a bilingual district composed of the same two portions and having boundaries identical with those which we have selected.

Consultation

964. Although this Board did not visit the area, a team of Board members consulted with an elected representative from the region who has already been referred to when we discussed a previous proposed bilingual district. He registered no objection to this particular area being recommended as a bilingual district.

Recommendation

965. Somewhat more than a majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district known as White Horse Plain School Division, to be comprised in the fashion already indicated.

Large Urban Centre For Which Bilingual Services Are Recommended Under Sections 9(2) and 10

Winnipeg

966. As we have explained previously, the Board decided to propose that bilingual federal services should be provided under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act, to the extent that it is possible, in all federal offices serving the public in large urban centres which in 1971 had at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the respective area.⁸¹ We concluded that a similar recommendation, without the requirement of a specific number of persons, should be made in respect to all provincial capitals.⁸² The supplementary recommendations which we shall make in regard to these two matters will be presented formally in Part III of this report.⁸³

⁸¹ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 187-201, pp. 29-31.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Part I, paragraphs 202-211, pp. 31-32.

⁸³ *Infra*, Part III, paragraphs 1156-1160, p. 176.

967. In Manitoba the one large urban centre for which bilingual federal services would be provided by this means would be the census metropolitan area of Winnipeg. It also would have qualified for the provision of bilingual federal services by virtue of our supplementary recommendation in regard to provincial capitals.

968. The census metropolitan area of Winnipeg is situated in the south-eastern quadrant of Manitoba at the conjunction of the Assiniboine, Red, and Seine Rivers. In 1971 the census metropolitan area of Winnipeg had 17,655 persons, amounting to 3.3 per cent, whose language most often spoken at home was French.

Its component census subdivisions and their numbers and percentages of persons whose language most often spoken at home in 1971 was French are given in the geostatistical description of the area in Part III of this report.⁸⁴ A map of the area accompanies the description.

Note

969. The Board draws attention to the fact that the census metropolitan area of Winnipeg will be among the list of large urban centres for which the Board will make a supplementary recommendation proposing that bilingual federal services be provided.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ *Infra*, Part III, pp. 188-189.

⁸⁵ *Infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

Saskatchewan and Alberta

Introduction

970. French settlement in the West followed the fur trade and was subsequently encouraged by the colonization movement in Quebec after the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company's property. Willow Bunch was settled from Manitoba in the decade after Canada took over the Territories. In 1906 Father Gravel settled a number of French Canadians in the southern part of Saskatchewan in what became Gravelbourg. Falher in the Peace River district was named in the 1890's after an Oblate priest. Following the railway other settlers took root nearby later. Father Bonny gave his name to Bonnyville in north-eastern Alberta in 1907. The famous Father Albert Lacombe had been honored by the naming of St. Albert. In 1905 he organized the development of St-Paul de M tis.

971. These original settlements received few additional settlers from Quebec. Although a trickle of newcomers arrived from Quebec after World War II, the original settlements have had little reinforcement to stimulate French cultural survival.

972. Equal status for French and English was extended to the legislature and courts of the Northwest Territories, later to become Alberta and Saskatchewan, by Section 133 of the British North America Act. Provision for separate schools was made by the Northwest Territories Act in 1875. When the French-speaking population became outnumbered by Anglophones from Ontario and the United Kingdom and by settlers from many parts of Europe, the federal legislation on language and education became a matter for dispute in the Territories, as it was in Manitoba.

973. Even before the formation of two separate provinces in 1905, political attitudes were moving away from the concept of equality for the English and French languages. Although the Francophones retained some political representation for many years, the right to use French in the territorial legislature was lost by 1891. The right to use French as a language of instruction in

the schools was abrogated entirely in Saskatchewan after 1920, as it was in Manitoba in 1916. In Alberta the school system was slightly more liberal and French was permitted as a language of instruction in the first two grades.

974. Despite the near repudiation of the original equality of the two languages in the political institutions in the Territories, the French fact was maintained in Alberta and Saskatchewan in great part by the efforts of the French Roman Catholic clergy. Complementing the dedicated efforts of the religious orders were the provincial associations of Francophones which have been active for many years. Now several French language weekly newspapers, as well as radio stations and more recently one television station in Edmonton, encourage and preserve the French language and culture. However, in recent years, two factors—the pervasiveness of English language television and the withdrawal of the clergy from many French language educational institutions across the Prairies—have contributed significantly to an increase in the rate of assimilation of Francophones in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

975. In 1921 there were in Alberta 24,110 people of French racial origin. In 1971 there were 94,665. Of the latter, 46,500 claimed French as mother tongue, and of this number, 22,695 or about 40 per cent spoke French most often at home. The figures for Saskatchewan show 33,031 people of French racial origin in 1921, compared to 56,195 in 1971. While 31,605 of the latter stated that French was their mother tongue, 15,935, or about 50 per cent, spoke French most often at home. The degree of assimilation varies from place to place, being highest in the urban areas and extremely low in isolated areas like Falher, Alberta.

976. To combat this trend towards assimilation, the Department of the Secretary of State has invited the governments of the provinces to avail themselves of large sums for aid to bilingual education. It has also given direct assistance in a more modest way to French language cultural programs. It will be several years

before the impact and effectiveness of these various programs can be assessed, but a significant contribution has already been made in French-language teacher training. There are at the present time some bilingual schools in each province, both separate and public, which accept pupils for education in both official languages regardless of their mother tongue.

977. The announcement in February 1974 that CBC TV coverage would be extended to any community where 500 people were of the minority official language will greatly raise the morale of Francophones in the remoter parts of the Prairies.

978. The degree of language maintenance among the Francophones of Alberta and Saskatchewan is remark-

able given the lack of assistance and encouragement by provincial governments from 1905 until recently. The fact that almost all Francophones in these provinces are bilingual, although between 40 per cent and 50 per cent still speak French at home, reveals the pressure upon the Francophone minority in the West.

979. The emphasis on multiculturalism found on the Prairies today places the Francophone minority in much the same position as other minority ethnic groups in these provinces. The concept of two founding peoples in Canada has not been readily accepted in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Multiculturalism is a reality in this part of Canada. The challenge is to find an accommodation between multiculturalism and biculturalism.

PROVINCE OF
SASKATCHEWAN
FEDERAL BILINGUAL DISTRICTS

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
Kilometres

PROVINCE DE LA
SASKATCHEWAN
DISTRICTS BILINGUES FÉDÉRAUX

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
Kilomètres

LEGENDE

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
Kilomètres

BATTLEFORD

PRINCE
ALBERT

ZENON PARK-
ARBORFIELD

PRUD'HOMME-VONDA

GRAVELBOURG
WILLOW BUNCH

REDVERS

Saskatchewan

Eligible Areas Not Recommended as Bilingual Districts

980. In 1971 only one of the 18 census divisions in Saskatchewan had a French mother tongue population attaining at least ten per cent. Census division Number 3 had an official language minority amounting to 17.2 per cent. All but one of the census subdivisions within it that had a minority constituting at least ten per cent have been included within one or another of the bilingual districts which the Board will propose.

981. Most of the remaining census subdivisions in Saskatchewan which had a minority amounting to at least ten per cent have been included within one or another of the six bilingual districts which the Board will recommend. Only 24 eligible census subdivisions, containing a total of 2,150 members of the minority, were omitted from any proposed bilingual district. In each instance the census subdivision was either too dispersed or too isolated to be combined with any recommended district, or else its minority population was so small in number that the Board did not believe a bilingual district should be proposed. The largest minority population in any of these 24 eligible census subdivisions was 270 persons.

Comparison With Recommendations of First Board

982. The bilingual districts which will be proposed by this Board are almost identical to the districts recommended by the First Board. There is, however, a difference in total number. Since our Board has combined two areas which were proposed as separate bilingual districts by the preceding Board, the total number of bilingual districts now being recommended is six, rather than seven.

983. Our Board also has altered on occasion the boundaries of certain districts recommended by the First Board. For the most part these changes have been minor, except in the instance of the combination of the

two districts proposed by the preceding Board. The changes will be noted in the explanation of the relevant district.

984. The First Board recommended that six additional areas be reconsidered after the results of the census of 1971 became available.⁸⁸ Our Board has reviewed each of these areas but decided in each instance that the evidence did not warrant recommending the establishment of a bilingual district.

Bilingual Districts Recommended in the Province of Saskatchewan

1. Battleford

a. description

the bilingual district of Battleford consists of census subdivision 438. Battle River and the town of Battleford, in census division No. 12; of census subdivisions 468. Meota and 469. Turtle River, and the villages of Edam, Meota, Metinota and Vawn in census division No. 17.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 12 (pt)			
subdivision			
438. Battle River.....	775	210	27.1
town			
Battleford.....	1,805	75	4.2
Division No. 17 (pt)			
subdivisions			
468. Meota.....	1,040	220	21.2
469. Turtle River.....	575	155	27.0
villages			
Edam.....	335	70	20.9
Meota.....	235	30	12.8
Metinota.....	10	—	—
Vawn.....	120	60	50.0
total.....	4,895	820	16.8

⁸⁸ *Recommendations of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, March, 1971, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1971, pp. 78-80.*

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Battleford is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Battleford—Kindersley and Meadow Lake, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Cutknife, Redberry and The Battlefords.

Details

985. The bilingual district recommended by the Board consists of census division 438. Battle River and the town of Battleford in census division Number 12, and census subdivisions 468. Meota and 469. Turtle River and the towns of Edam, Meota, Metinota, and Vawn in census division Number 17. The proposed bilingual district is located on the opposing north and south banks of the North Saskatchewan River relatively close to the border of Alberta.

986. In 1971 the proposed bilingual district had 820 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 16.8 per cent. Although it did not have the least number of the minority of any of the areas which we were prepared to recommend as bilingual districts, the Board recognized that the aggregate of the minority was relatively small.

987. We examined the possibility of combining with it some other localities in this region of Saskatchewan which had concentrations of the minority, but because these areas were too distant or because their proportion of the minority was too limited, this step proved to be impossible.

988. The most likely potential addition appeared to be the city of North Battleford, which the First Board had included within the bilingual district that it had proposed in this area. However, the numbers of the minority and of the total population in North Battleford in 1971 were such that if North Battleford had been added to the area which we were proposing, the proportion of the minority in the enlarged area would have been less than ten per cent and the possibility of recommending a bilingual district would have been nullified. Consequently we had to omit North Battleford. This omission constitutes one of the differences between the delineation of boundaries for bilingual districts by our Board and by the preceding Board.

Visit and Consultations

989. Representatives from the Board visited the area and held a consultation in North Battleford with five

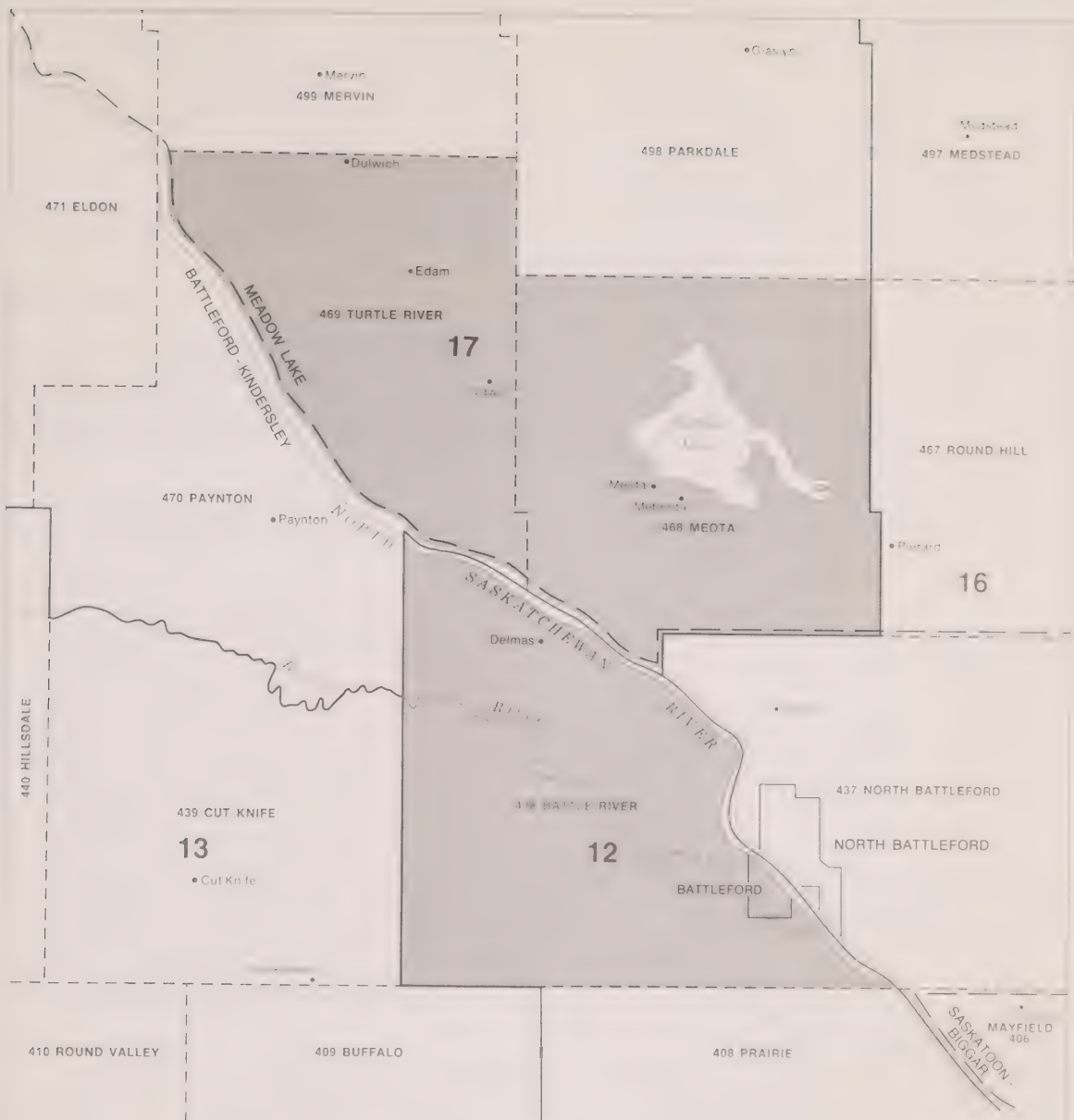
residents of the vicinity. The latter regretted the fact that the city of North Battleford could not be included in a prospective bilingual district since most of the federal offices in the region were situated in that city. There were very few federal offices within the area which was eligible to be recommended as a bilingual district.

990. On two other occasions several members of the Board consulted with officials representing the provincial government and with an elected representative from the region. Although the latter did not believe that residents of the area whose mother tongue was other than French or English would be disturbed by the establishment of a bilingual district in the region, he personally preferred to see bilingual federal services provided by some pragmatic means, such as Section 9(2) of the Official Languages Act, rather than by the creation of demarcated areas.

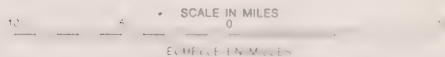
Position of the Provincial Government

991. When a team of Board members met with three officials representing the government of Saskatchewan, we were told that although the provincial government fully accepted the bilingual principle embodied in the Official Languages Act, it sought to implement it within the context of support for multiculturalism. Thus, the provincial government was willing to assist French-speaking groups as well as others. The Saskatchewan government wished to reassure ethnic groups who were other than French or English that they were not "third class" citizens. In this connection the government spokesmen suggested that if the term "bilingual district" were changed to some such title as "official languages district", the entity might receive wider acceptance.

992. The provincial government had no objection to our proposal to recommend on occasion a somewhat more extensive bilingual district rather than a smaller district. However, we were cautioned against recommending districts which had irregular or contorted boundaries since they might give the impression that the districts were artificially over-extended. Such districts might also be opposed by residents who did not wish to live within a bilingual district. Although the spokesmen acknowledged that Francophones were now asking for more services in their language, the officials stated that to avoid dissension in bilingual districts, it would be essential to ensure job-security for public employees who were not able to speak both official languages.



SASKATCHEWAN



BATTLEFORD

Federal Bilingual District
LEGEND

District Recommended
Federal Electoral District
Census Division
Census Subdivision

12

BATTLEFORD

District bilingue fédéral
LÉGENDE

District recommandé
Circonscription électorale fédérale
Division de recensement
Sous-division de recensement

12

993. The representatives were in favour of the federal government prescribing a general framework for official languages while allowing each province to adjust it to particular local circumstances. They also favoured further consultation between the two jurisdictions.

994. While the views of the Saskatchewan government pertain to all of the proposed bilingual districts which we shall discuss hereafter in this section, we shall not allude to them further in order to avoid repetition.

Recommendation

995. Although some members of the Board had reservations, a strong majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district known as Battleford, to be comprised in the manner previously indicated.

2. Gravelbourg—Willow Bunch

a. description

the bilingual district of Gravelbourg—Willow Bunch consists of the census subdivisions 42. Willow Bunch, 44. Waverley, 45. Mankota, 72. Lake of the Rivers, 73. Stonehenge, 74. Wood River, 75. Pinto Creek, 76. Auvergne, 103. Sutton and 104. Gravelbourg, the towns of Assiniboia, Gravelbourg, Laflèche, Ponteix and Willow Bunch, the villages of Aneroid, Ferland, Glentworth, Hazenmore, Kincaid, Limerick, Mankota, Mazenod, Meyronne, Palmer, St. Victor and Woodrow, in census division No. 3; of census subdivisions 17. Val Marie (pt) and 77. Wise Creek, the villages of Admiral, Cadillac and Val Marie, in census division No. 4; of census subdivisions 133. Rodgers and the village of Coderre, in census division No. 7.

b. census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 3 (pt)			
subdivisions			
42. Willow Bunch....	975	400	41.0
44. Waverley.....	585	80	13.7
45. Mankota.....	725	120	16.6
72. Lake of the Rivers.....	700	40	5.7
73. Stonehenge.....	905	30	3.3
74. Wood River.....	720	105	14.6
75. Pinto Creek.....	455	60	13.2
76. Auvergne.....	590	210	35.6

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 3 (pt)			
subdivisions			
103. Sutton.....	670	40	6.0
104. Gravelbourg.....	885	395	44.6
towns			
Assiniboia.....	2,675	215	8.0
Gravelbourg.....	1,430	825	57.7
Laflèche.....	715	115	16.1
Ponteix.....	790	535	67.7
Willow Bunch.....	480	290	60.4
villages			
Aneroid.....	160	5	3.1
Ferland.....	110	100	90.9
Glentworth.....	125	10	8.0
Hazenmore.....	125	—	—
Kincaid.....	305	5	1.6
Limerick.....	180	—	—
Mankota.....	425	25	5.9
Mazenod.....	75	5	6.7
Meyronne.....	140	20	14.3
Palmer.....	55	5	9.1
St. Victor.....	85	50	58.8
Woodrow.....	70	—	—
Division No. 4 (pt)			
subdivisions			
17. Val Marie (pt)....	705	110	15.6
77. Wise Creek.....	450	140	31.1
villages			
Admiral.....	75	10	13.3
Cadillac.....	215	60	27.9
Val Marie.....	305	105	34.4
Division No. 7 (pt)			
subdivision			
133. Rodgers.....	435	145	33.3
village			
Coderre.....	165	75	45.5
total.....	17,505	4,330	24.7

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Gravelbourg—Willow Bunch is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Assiniboia and Swift Current—Maple Creek, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Assiniboia—Bengough, Gravelbourg, Notukeu—Willow Bunch and Shaunavon.

Details

996. The bilingual district recommended by the Board is composed of 13 rural subdivisions, five towns, and 16 villages in census divisions Numbers 3, 4, and 7. The area is located in south-central Saskatchewan close to the border of the United States.

997. In 1971 the region had 4,330 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 24.7 per cent of the total population. The boundaries of the area have been designed carefully, after study of the language population statistics, in order to include the localities in the region which had concentrations of French mother tongue persons while omitting those census subdivisions which were heavily populated by residents of a mother tongue other than French.

998. Since this was the region in which our Board combined into one bilingual district two areas which had been proposed by the First Board as separate bilingual districts, it was necessary in two instances to include as connecting links between the areas census subdivisions which had considerably less than ten per cent of the official language minority. However, we believed that the goal of creating a compact single bilingual district outweighed any disadvantage involved.

999. The western portion of the proposed bilingual district is considerably less extensive than that part recommended by the preceding Board. In making these modifications, we acted in accordance with the advice of local residents, to which we shall refer subsequently.

1000. Although the proposed bilingual district contains Gravelbourg, the historic Francophone cultural base in the prairies, it was not possible, because of the language statistics, to extend the boundaries of the recommended district further to the east to include other French language communities in Laurier—Radville and Montmartre, which the First Board had recommended should be considered.

1001. Since the proposed bilingual district was predominantly rural, there were not many federal offices in the region. There were some, however, in the town of Gravelbourg, to which further reference will be made below.

Consultation

1002. Although the Board did not visit this area, a team of Board members consulted with two officials of a French cultural association in the province who also were residents of southern Saskatchewan. They stated that in their opinion it was preferable to establish less extensive and more compact areas as bilingual districts rather than larger areas which included many persons who were not of French mother tongue. In

this connection they offered advice which the Board followed in delineating the western limits of the proposed bilingual district.

1003. The representatives expressed considerable concern about the fact that some federal facilities for the minority, such as a radio station in Gravelbourg, were being moved to northern Saskatchewan. The spokesmen for the provincial government whom we met shared this concern since they believed that such steps were retrogressive and damaging to the local French culture.

Recommendation

1004. **The Board recommends with near unanimity the establishment of a bilingual district known as Gravelbourg—Willow Bunch, to be comprised in the manner already described.**

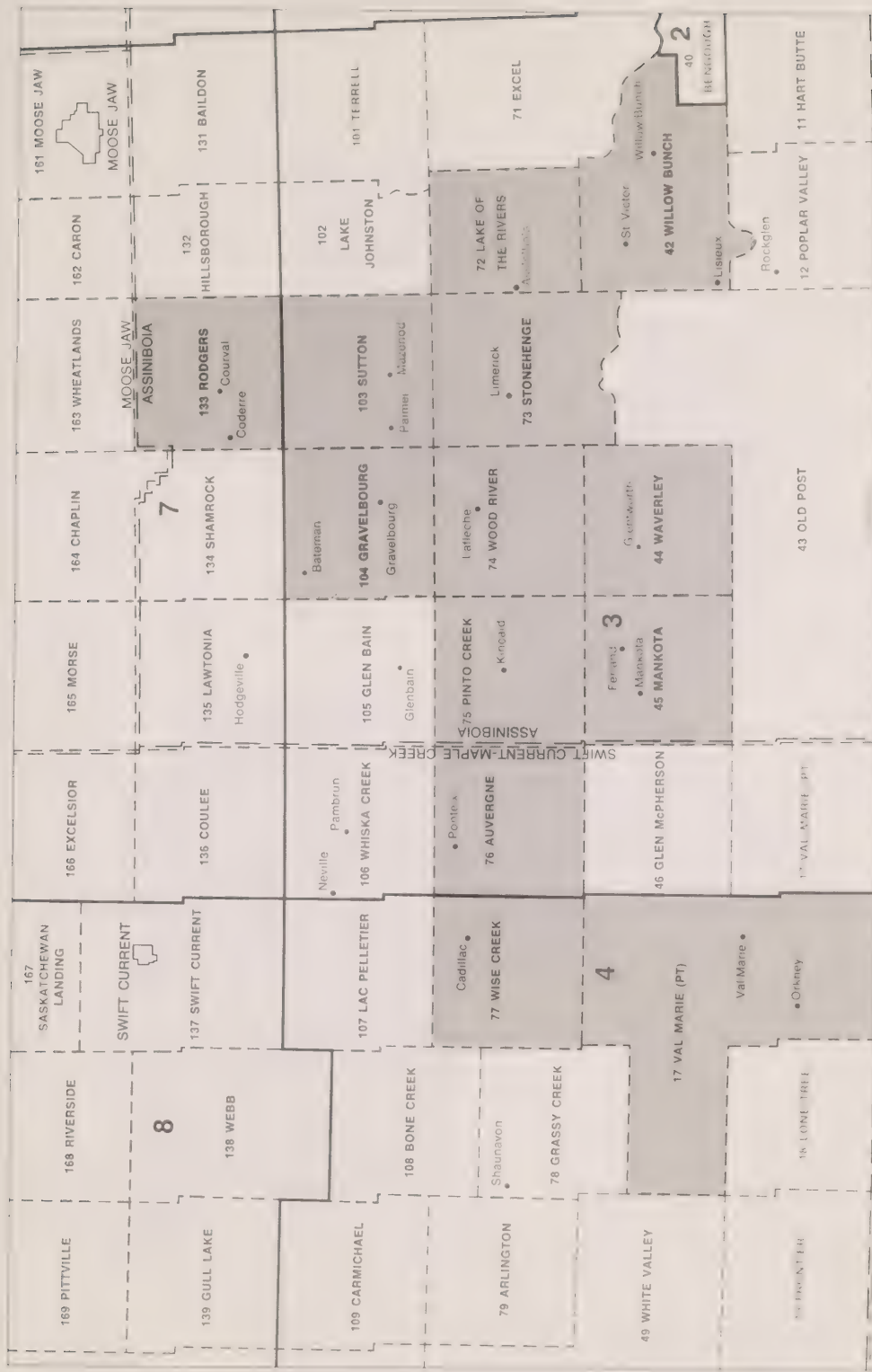
3. Prince Albert

a. description

the bilingual district of Prince Albert consists of census subdivisions 431. St. Louis, 461. Prince Albert, 463. Duck Lake, 490. Garden River and 491. Buckland, the city of Prince Albert, the town of Duck Lake, and the villages of Domremy, Meath Park, St. Louis and Weirdale in census division No. 15; of census subdivisions 434. Blaine Lake, 464. Leask, 494. Canwood and 496. Spiritwood, the towns of Blaine Lake and Spiritwood and the villages of Canwood, Debden, Leask, Leoville, Marcellin, Parkside and Shell Lake, in census division No. 16.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 15 (pt)			
subdivisions			
431. St. Louis.....	1,720	1,120	65.1
461. Prince Albert....	2,620	145	5.5
463. Duck Lake.....	960	270	28.1
490. Garden River..	1,020	140	13.7
491. Buckland.....	2,385	305	12.8
city			
Prince Albert.....	28,465	2,230	7.8
town			
Duck Lake.....	585	325	55.6
villages			
Domremy.....	210	120	57.1
Meath Park.....	250	15	6.0
St. Louis.....	385	235	61.0
Weirdale.....	110	—	—



GRAVELBOURG-WILLOW BUNCH Federal Bilingual District

SASKATCHEWAN



LEGÈND

GRAVELBOURG-WILLOW BUNCH District bilingue fédéral

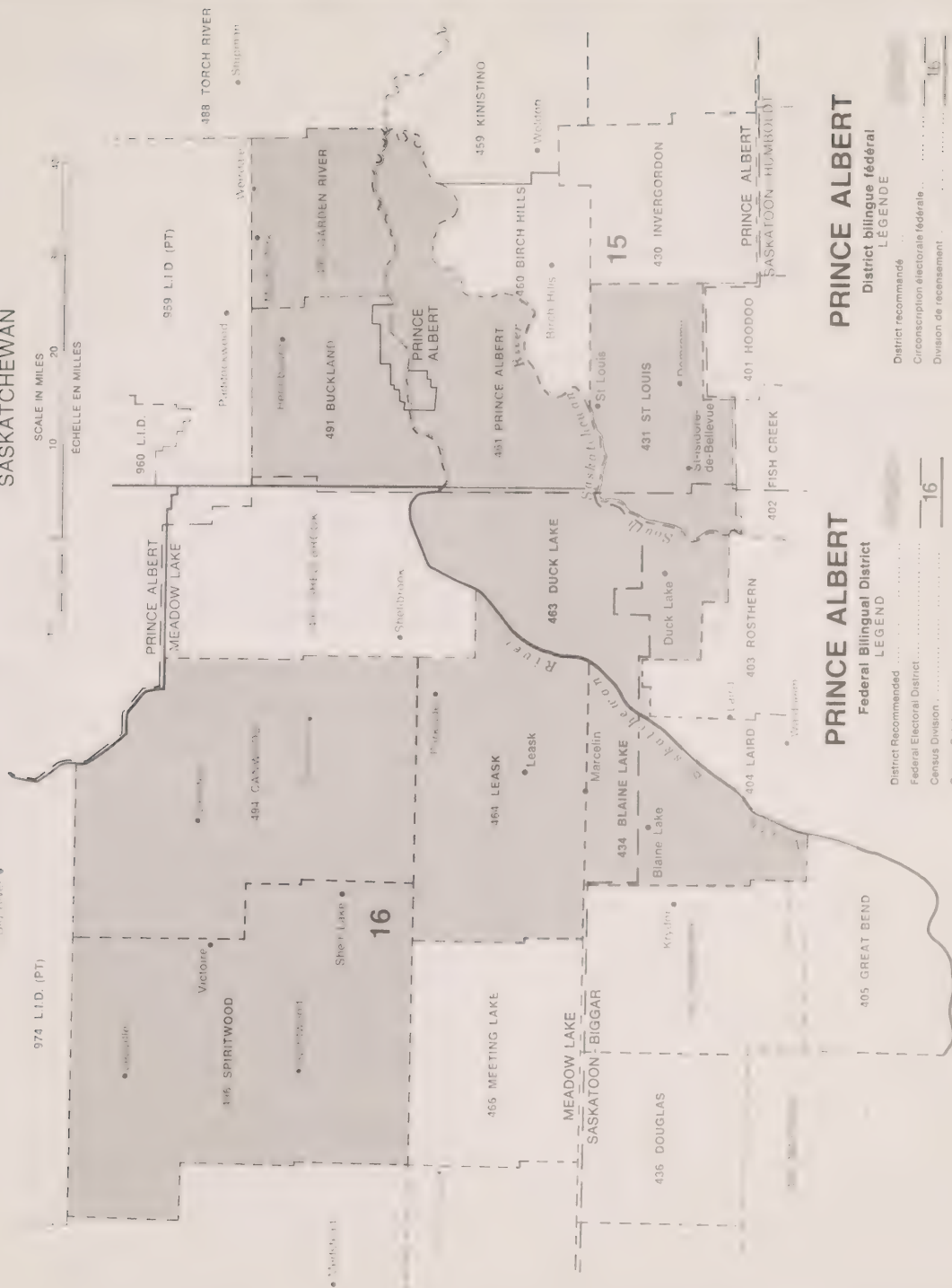
LEGÈND

Produced by the Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa, Canada.

Établi par la Direction des levés et de la cartographie, ministère de l'Énergie, des Mines et des Ressources, Ottawa, Canada.

• 1937 •

SCALE IN MILES
10 20
ÉCHELLE EN MILES



PRINCE ALBERT

Federal Bilingual District

PRINCE ALBERT

District bilingue fédéral

LEUNG
District Recommended
Federal Electoral District
Census Division **16**
Census Subdivision

LEGENDA

District recommandé ..	.....
Circoscription électorale fédérale ..	.....
Division de recensement ..	.....
Subdivision de recensement ..	.....

Produced by the Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Energy Mines and Resources, Ottawa, Canada.

Établie par la Direction des levés et de la cartographie ministérielle de l'Énergie, des Mines et des Ressources, Ottawa, Canada.

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 16 (pt)			
subdivisions			
434. Blaine Lake.....	700	90	12.9
464. Leask.....	1,235	105	8.5
494. Canwood.....	2,620	625	23.9
496. Spiritwood.....	2,075	395	19.0
towns			
Blaine Lake.....	670	15	2.2
Spiritwood.....	720	135	18.8
villages			
Canwood.....	325	5	1.5
Debden.....	340	205	60.3
Leask.....	440	55	12.5
Leoville.....	400	175	43.8
Marcellin.....	305	110	36.1
Parkside.....	115	—	—
Shell Lake.....	255	5	2.0
total.....	48,910	6,825	14.0

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Prince Albert is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Meadow Lake, Prince Albert and Saskatoon—Biggar; it is located in the provincial electoral district of Prince Albert West, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Melfort—Kinistino, Prince Albert East, Redberry, Rosthern, Shellbrook and Turtleford.

Details

1005. The bilingual district recommended by the Board is composed of nine rural census subdivisions, the city of Prince Albert, three towns, and 11 villages in census divisions Numbers 15 and 16. The area is located in the central region of Saskatchewan to the north of Saskatoon.

1006. In 1971 the proposed bilingual district had a French mother tongue population amounting to 6,825 persons or precisely 14.0 per cent. Containing an area which has had a long history of settlement by French-speaking Canadians, this proposed bilingual district had the most sizable number of the minority of any of the districts recommended in Saskatchewan. Judged by the aggregate of its minority, it was also the third largest of any of the bilingual districts proposed in Western Canada.

1007. The boundaries of the area recommended are identical to those proposed for a similar district by the First Board except that we have extended them slightly to the south to include the addition of the town of Blaine Lake and census subdivision 434. Blaine Lake.

1008. Although the minority was not distributed uniformly throughout the proposed bilingual district, we believed that the area comprised a feasible district since

it was the hinterland of the city of Prince Albert in which most of the federal offices in the region were situated.

Consultation

1009. The Board did not visit this region but two members consulted elsewhere with two executives of a French cultural association, of whom one had resided in Prince Albert for many years. These respondents were of the opinion that the boundaries which we were proposing for a bilingual district in the region were reasonable and realistic.

Recommendation

1010. A strong majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district called Prince Albert, to be composed in the manner already indicated.

4. Prud'homme—Vonda

a. description

the bilingual district of Prud'homme—Vonda consists of census subdivision 372. Grant, the town of Vonda, the village of Prud'homme and in whole or in part, the enumeration areas (E.A.) No. 405 and 408 of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 711 (Saskatoon—Humboldt), in census division No. 15; in whole or in part, the enumeration areas No. 102 and 103, of the federal electoral district No. 711 (Saskatoon—Humboldt), in census division No. 11.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 15 (pt)			
subdivision			
372. Grant.....	710	305	43.0
town			
Vonda.....	255	85	33.3
village			
Prud'homme.....	260	80	30.8
E.D. E.A.			
711 405	215	35	16.3
711 408 (pt).....	415	25	6.0
Division No. 11 (pt)			
E.D. E.A.			
711 102 (pt).....	215	45	20.9
711 103	160	5	3.1
total.....	2,230	580	26.0

Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area even when only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Prud'homme—Vonda is located in part of the federal electoral district of Saskatoon—Humboldt, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Hanley, Rosthern and Watrous.

Details

1011. The bilingual district recommended by the Board is comprised of rural census subdivision 372. Grant, the town of Vonda, the village of Prud'homme, and two enumeration areas, in whole or in part, in census division Number 15, and two enumeration areas, in whole or in part, in census division Number 11. The area is located approximately 20 miles to the east of Saskatoon, extending north.

1012. In 1971 the proposed bilingual district had a French mother tongue population amounting to 580 persons or exactly 26.0 per cent. The proposed district had both the smallest area and the least number of the minority of any of the bilingual districts recommended in Saskatchewan. It also had the least number of the minority in any of the bilingual districts which the Board is proposing in Canada. Most of the minority was concentrated in census subdivision 372. Grant. There were very few federal services in the area.

1013. The Board explored the possibility of attempting to attach this area to the large proposed bilingual district of Prince Albert, which was situated to the north. But the intervening area was heavily populated by residents of other than French mother tongue. Bearing in mind the advice which we had received from various sources, including the provincial government and a number of Francophones in Saskatchewan, the Board concluded that this was an instance in which it would not be advisable to extend the boundaries of a bilingual district in order to combine two areas. The boundaries proposed are identical to those recommended for a similar district by the preceding Board.

Recommendation

1014. Although some members of the Board had great reservations about recommending a bilingual district in an area so small in extent and in the size of the minority as in this case, the Board by a majority vote recommends the establishment of a bilingual district known as Prud'homme—Vonda, to be comprised as previously noted.

5. Redvers

a. description

the bilingual district of Redvers consists of census subdivisions 31. Storthoaks, 32. Reciprocity and 61. Antler, the town of Redvers and the villages of Alida, Antler and Storthoaks, in census division No. 1.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 1 (pt)			
subdivisions			
31. Storthoaks.....	830	375	45.2
32. Reciprocity.....	775	205	26.5
61. Antler.....	1,105	385	34.8
town			
Redvers.....	845	180	21.3
villages			
Alida.....	230	45	19.6
Antler.....	115	30	26.1
Storthoaks.....	175	100	57.1
total.....	4,075	1,320	32.4

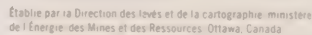
c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Redvers is located in part of the federal electoral district of Qu'Appelle—Moose Mountain, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Cannington and Souris—Estevan.

Details

1015. The bilingual district recommended by the Board consists of three rural census subdivisions, the town of Redvers, and the three villages of Alida, Antler, and Storthoaks, all located in census division Number 1. The area is situated in the south-eastern extremity of the province, approximately 20 miles north of the border of the United States.

1016. In 1971 the proposed bilingual district had a French mother tongue population amounting to 1,320 persons or 32.4 per cent. Known as "le petit Québec", the region was a compact area in which the minority was distributed in such a fashion that no component of the area had a proportion of the minority amounting to less than 19.6 per cent. There were very few federal offices in this predominantly rural area. The boundaries proposed by the present Board are identical to those recommended for a similar bilingual district by the preceding Board.





SASKATCHEWAN

REDVERS

Federal Bilingual District
LEGEND

District Recommended	1
Federal Electoral District	1
Census Division	1
Census Subdivision	1

Produced by the Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department
of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa, Canada.

SCALE IN MILES
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
ÉCHELLE EN MILLES

REDVERS

District bilingue fédéral
LÉGENDE

District recommandé	1
Circonscription électorale fédérale	1
Division de recensement	1
Subdivision de recensement	1

Établie par la Direction des levés et de la cartographie, ministère
de l'Énergie, des Mines et des Ressources, Ottawa, Canada

Recommendation

1017. Although some members of the Board hesitated to recommend this area because of the limited size of the minority, the Board recommends by a majority vote the establishment of a bilingual district known as Redvers, to be composed in the manner previously described.

6. Zenon Park—Arborfield

a. description

the bilingual district of Zenon Park—Arborfield consists of census subdivisions 456. Arborfield and 457. Connaught, the town of Arborfield and the villages of Ridgedale and Zenon Park, in census division No. 14.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 14 (pt)			
subdivisions			
456. Arborfield.....	905	205	22.7
457. Connaught.....	1,330	220	16.5
town			
Arborfield.....	420	20	4.8
villages			
Ridgedale.....	170	—	—
Zenon Park.....	345	250	72.5
total.....	3,170	695	21.9

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Zenon Park—Arborfield is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Mackenzie and Prince Albert, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Kelsey—Tisdale and Nipawin.

Details

1018. The bilingual district recommended by the Board consists of two rural census subdivisions, the town of Arborfield, and the villages of Ridgedale and Zenon Park in census division Number 14. The area is located about 80 miles due east of Prince Albert, extending easterly toward the boundary of Manitoba.

1019. In 1971 the proposed bilingual district had 695 persons of French mother tongue, constituting 21.9 per cent of the total population. The minority amounted to 22.7 per cent and 16.5 per cent respectively in the two rural census subdivisions 456. Arborfield and 457.

Connaught, and to 72.5 per cent in the village of Zenon Park. However, the minority amounted to only 4.8 per cent in the town of Arborfield and to a negligible percentage in the village of Ridgedale. Since these latter two localities were situated within the rural census subdivisions previously mentioned, it was impossible to omit them from any bilingual district that might be proposed for the area. The region had very few federal offices.

St. Front—St. Brieux

1020. Since the number of the minority in Zenon Park—Arborfield was relatively small, we considered the possibility of combining the area with another concentration of the minority located in the area of St. Front—St. Brieux, which was about 25 miles to the south-west. St. Front—St. Brieux formed one of the areas which the First Board had recommended for reconsideration. We reviewed the language statistics for the area and obtained the opinions of various persons whom we have already noted in our previous accounts of our consultations in Saskatchewan.

1021. Although we found that there were in 1971 620 French mother tongue persons, amounting to 21.8 per cent, in the two census subdivisions containing St. Front and St. Brieux, we were dissuaded from recommending the area as a separate bilingual district since the total of the minority was small and we were informed by several respondents, including Francophones, that there was little local interest in the survival of a French community. However, the possibility of combining it with Zenon Park—Arborfield remained.

Visit and Consultations

1022. A team of Board members visited the area of Zenon Park and Arborfield to hold consultations in the two localities, following the urging of an elected representative from the region who discussed the situation with an official of our Board.

1023. Whatever the reason, no residents appeared to meet with us in Arborfield. In Zenon Park, on the other hand, a large group of 32 persons assembled to consult with the Board members. We learned that it was difficult for the Francophones to maintain their culture. There were, for example, no French television programs available. Our respondents told us that they did not have much communication with the residents of St. Front—St. Brieux.

1024. For this reason, and to avoid joining the two communities by an artificial linkage against which we had been warned, the Board decided not to try to combine Zenon Park—Arboretfield and St. Front—St. Brieux in one bilingual district.

1025. Although we had been cautioned also about the risk of engendering resentment by extending a prospective bilingual district beyond the major French concentration in Zenon Park, we noted, as we have previously explained, that it was impossible to include the various French groups in the total area without incorporating such localities as the town of Arboretfield. It was a case of all or none.

Recommendation

1026. Although some members hesitated to recommend a bilingual district which had such a small number of the minority, somewhat more than a majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district known as Zenon Park—Arboretfield, to be comprised in the manner previously indicated.

Provincial Capital For Which Bilingual Services Are Recommended Under Sections 9(2) and 10

1027. Since there were in 1971 no large urban centres in Saskatchewan which met the criterion of having 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language, the supplementary recommendation which we shall offer in this regard in Part III of our report will not apply in Saskatchewan.⁸⁷

Regina

1028. However, our second supplementary recommendation which will make the same proposal in regard to all provincial capitals, without requiring a specific number of persons, will apply to the provincial capital of Regina.⁸⁸

1029. The designated area in this case is the census metropolitan area of Regina, for which a geostatistical description and a map will be provided in Part III.⁸⁹ In 1971 the census metropolitan area of Regina had 585 persons, amounting to 0.4 per cent, whose language most spoken at home was French.

⁸⁷ For the recommendation, see *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

⁸⁸ For the recommendation, see *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 2, paragraphs 1159-1160, p. 176.

⁸⁹ *Infra*, Part III, pp. 200-201.

Alberta

Eligible Areas Not Recommended as Bilingual Districts

1030. There were few eligible areas in Alberta which were not included within a bilingual district. In 1971 only one of the 15 census divisions in Alberta had a French mother tongue population amounting to at least ten per cent. Census division Number 12 had an official language minority amounting to 13.7 per cent. All of the census subdivisions within it that had a minority constituting at least ten per cent have been included, in whole or in part, within a bilingual district which we shall propose.

1031. All but seven of the remaining census subdivisions in Alberta which in 1971 had a minority amounting to at least ten per cent have been included within the other bilingual district which we shall recommend.

1032. The seven eligible census subdivisions which we have omitted fall into two categories. Four were each too small to constitute a bilingual district in itself, or were too distant to be included in a bilingual district proposed elsewhere. These four census subdivisions, with their number and percentage of French mother tongue residents in 1971 given in parentheses after them, were as follows: Cowley (25, 12.5 per cent), Cluny (25, 27.8 per cent), 92. Westlock (695, 10.2 per cent), and Clyde (25, 10.9 per cent).

1033. The remaining three census subdivisions were located in the vicinity of Edmonton. Since they were part of the census metropolitan area of Edmonton, they will be provided with bilingual federal services under the supplementary recommendation which we shall make in reference to this area.⁸⁰ The three census subdivisions, with their number and percentage of French mother tongue residents in 1971 given in parentheses after them, were as follows: 90. Sturgeon

(1,965, 17.9 per cent), Morinville (480, 32.5 per cent), and Legal (370, 66.1 per cent). Our reasons for omitting these localities from a bilingual district will be given subsequently when we discuss our recommendation for bilingual services in the census metropolitan area of Edmonton.

Comparison With Recommendations of the First Board

1034. The two bilingual districts which will be proposed by this Board are quite similar in area to the two comparable districts recommended by the First Board, although their boundaries are not identical to those previously recommended. In the case of Falher—Peace River we have extended the eastern boundary slightly. In the case of St. Paul—Bonnyville we have enlarged the western portion somewhat.

1035. The major distinction between the recommendations by the two Boards is that we have reduced the number of proposed bilingual districts from three to two. As we shall explain later, we decided not to recommend as a bilingual district an area north of Edmonton which the preceding Board recommended as a district called Legal—Morinville—St. Albert.

1036. The First Board recommended that three additional areas be reconsidered after the results of the census of 1971 became available.⁸¹ We have reviewed each area and found that none qualified to be recommended as a bilingual district.

Bilingual Districts Recommended in the Province of Alberta

1. Falher—Peace River

a. description

the bilingual district of Falher—Peace River consists of the census subdivision 130. Smoky River,

⁸⁰ For the recommendation, see *infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

⁸¹ *Recommendations of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, March, 1971*, Ottawa. Information Canada, 1971, pp. 86-87.

in whole or in part, the enumeration areas (E.A.) No. 213, 214, 216, 217, 224, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 270, 271, 301, 302, and 303 of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 801 (Athabasca), the enumeration areas No. 007, 008, 009, 201, 220, 251, 252, 258, 259, 260, 301, 302, and 401 of the federal electoral district No. 814 (Peace River), the towns of Falher, High Prairie, McLennan and Peace River, and the villages of Donnelly, Eaglesham, Girouxville, and Nampa, in census division No. 15.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 15 (pt)			
subdivision			
130. Smoky River....	3,450	2,390	69.3
E.D. E.A.			
801 213 (pt).....	535	150	28.0
801 214	5	—	—
801 216 (pt).....	285	—	—
801 217 (pt).....	365	25	6.8
801 224 (pt).....	285	—	—
801 251	495	55	11.1
801 252	370	5	1.4
801 253	275	10	3.6
801 254	230	—	—
801 255	250	20	8.0
801 256	455	10	2.2
801 259	370	—	—
801 260	290	5	1.7
801 261	205	20	9.8
801 262	135	15	11.1
801 263	280	105	37.5
801 264	235	135	57.4
801 270	260	—	—
801 271	—	—	—
801 301 (pt).....	385	—	—
801 302	355	115	32.4
801 303	210	45	21.4
814 007 (pt).....	620	45	7.3
814 008 (pt).....	155	—	—
814 009 (pt).....	570	—	—
814 201	—	—	—
814 220 (pt).....	65	—	—
814 251	195	5	2.6
814 252	205	25	12.2
814 258	290	180	62.1
814 259	235	125	53.2
814 260	170	100	58.8
814 301	220	15	6.8
814 302	45	—	—
814 401 (pt).....	210	—	—
towns			
Falher.....	915	760	83.1
High Prairie.....	2,355	140	5.9
McLennan.....	1,090	330	30.3
Peace River.....	5,040	285	5.7

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
villages			
Donnelly.....	275	205	74.5
Eaglesham.....	215	55	25.6
Girouxville.....	345	270	78.3
Nampa.....	285	20	7.0
total.....	23,225	5,665	24.4

Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area even where only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Falher—Peace River is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Athabasca and Peace River, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Lesser Slave Lake, Peace River and Smoky River.

Details

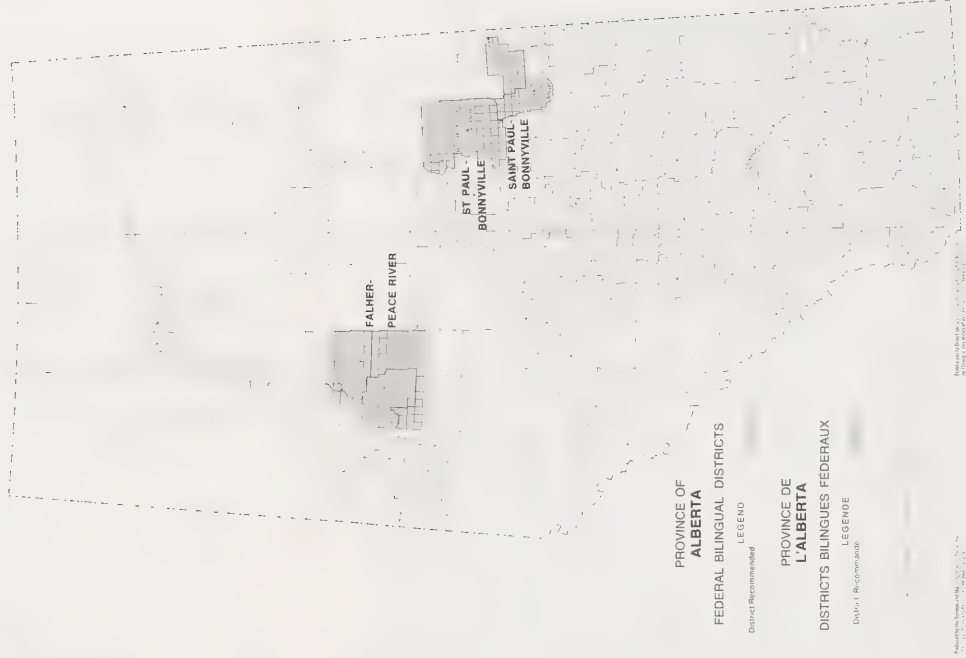
1037. The bilingual district recommended by the Board consists of one rural census subdivision and a number of rural enumeration areas in whole or in part, the towns of Falher, High Prairie, McLennan, and Peace River, and the villages of Donnelly, Eaglesham, Girouxville, and Nampa in census division Number 15. The extensive area is located in the north-west quadrant of Alberta, between the east bank of the Peace River and the western end of Lesser Slave Lake.

1038. Having been settled by many persons of French mother tongue, this portion of the "Peace River country" had in 1971 5,665 French mother tongue residents, amounting to 24.4 per cent of the total population. Although almost three-quarters of the minority were concentrated in one part of the area, that is, within the rural census subdivision 130. Smoky River and the towns and villages encompassed by it, there were still an additional 1,710 members of the minority dispersed throughout the rest of the area.

1039. Since the region was predominantly rural, it did not have many federal facilities. However, the principal urban centre of Peace River, located in the northern part of the area, had about a dozen federal offices while the town of High Prairie in the south also had a few federal offices.

Visits and Consultations

1040. A team of Board members visited the area and held consultations with several groups in the towns of

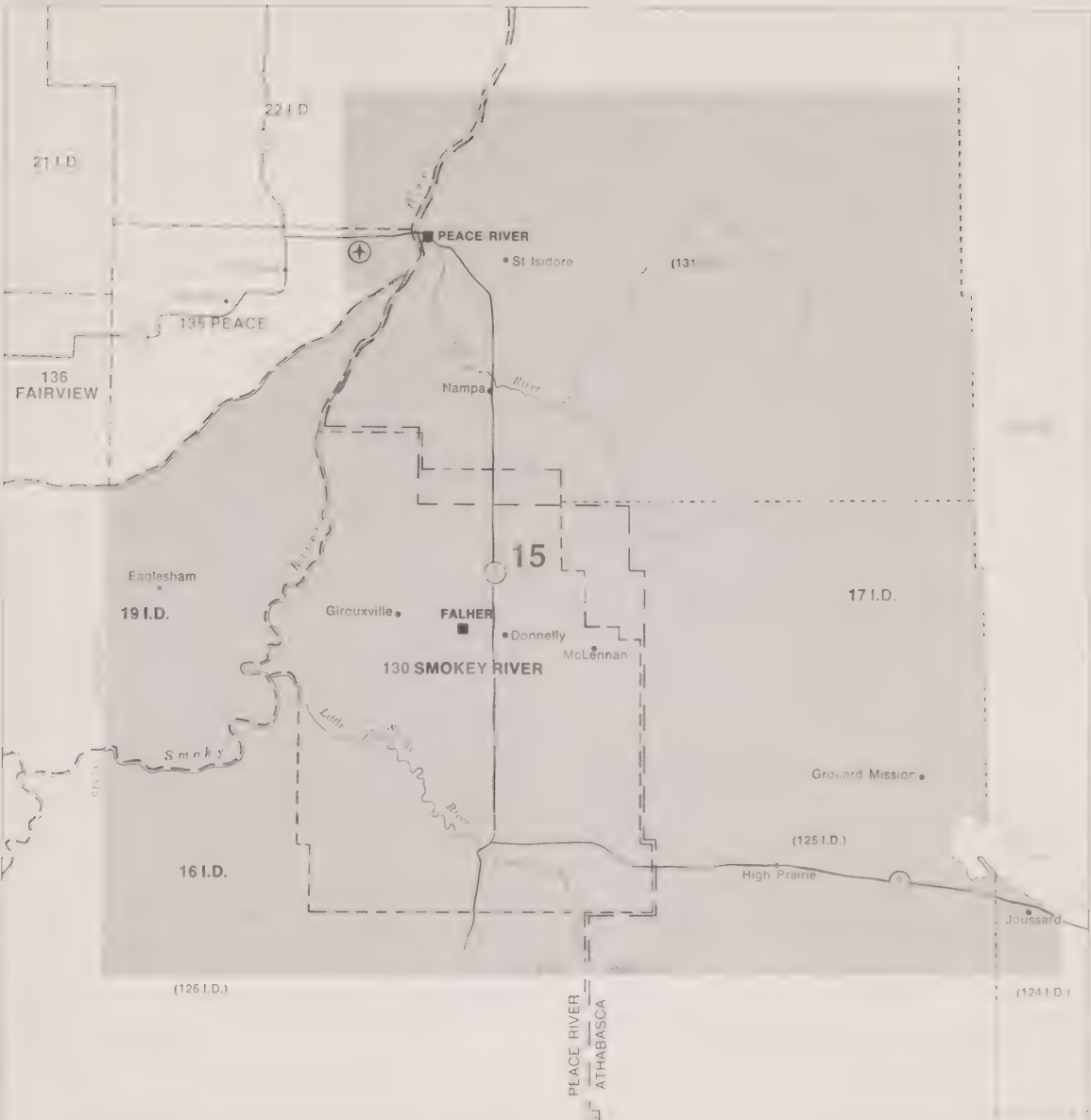


PROVINCE OF
ALBERTA
FEDERAL BILINGUAL DISTRICTS

LEGEND
District Recommended

PROVINCE DE
L'ALBERTA
DISTRICTS BILINGUES FEDERAUX

LEGENDE
District Recommandé



FALHER - PEACE RIVER

Federal Bilingual District
LEGEND

District Recommended	
Federal Electoral District	15
Census Division	130
Census Subdivision	131

FALHER - PEACE RIVER

District bilingue fédéral
LÉGENDE

District recommandé	
Circonscription électorale fédérale	15
Division de recensement	130
Subdivision de recensement	131

ALBERTA

SCALE IN MILES
10 5 0 10 20 30

ECHELLE EN MILES

Peace River and Falher. We also met with some residents of Donnelly, Girouxville, and McLennan in groups and individually, with some elected representatives in the region, and in Edmonton with several persons who also were familiar with the area. On two other occasions we consulted with additional elected representatives from the region and with officials of the provincial government of Alberta.

1041. In the meeting in Peace River we found that most of the eight residents and local officials who attended were opposed to the concept of bilingual districts and to the establishment of a district in their area. They believed that their northern portion of the region was quite distinct from the south. Among other reasons, they expressed a concern that the creation of a bilingual district might lead to the transfer of federal offices from Peace River. The only advantage they foresaw in the inclusion of Peace River in a bilingual district was the contrary possibility that the step might attract trade and business to their locality.

1042. In Falher we received just the opposite opinion. The 24 persons who attended one or the other of two meetings and who were for the most part civic and educational officials from Falher and the vicinity were unanimously in favour of the establishment of a bilingual district. They were strongly of the view that the eastern area in the vicinity of High Prairie should be included in a district with the western segment containing Falher and Peace River. They noted that a number of Francophones used the federal services in High Prairie.

1043. Although education was available in French, our respondents said that there was an urgent need for French language television programs. The latter were regarded as one of the federal facilities most important to the survival of the minority culture since television had such a profound effect upon the language used by children and adolescents.

1044. In contrast to the prediction offered in Peace River, an elected representative whom we met in Falher stated that he did not think that the establishment of a bilingual district in the region would create dissension. Another elected representative in the area reported that he had urged provincial government departments serving the area to provide their facilities in French and English and that his advice had been well received.

1045. The several elected representatives from the region whom we met on another occasion expressed various views. Although they supported the principle

of the Official Languages Act, some had grave reservations about bilingual districts, preferring to see bilingual services provided pragmatically, under Section 9(2) of the Act, for example, rather than by means of demarcated areas. One respondent warned us that drawing lines on a map could divide people of different language affiliations. He and a colleague also believed that if jobs were threatened by the creation of a bilingual district, there would be serious difficulties. He remarked that while some Francophones were anxious to have bilingual districts, others were not keen on them.

1046. Another elected representative noted that the French-speaking population in the Peace River country had declined in numbers in recent years. However, since there were still some unilingual French persons and Francophones who wished to use their language, he believed that federal services in the area should be supplied in French as well as in English. Although he was not personally opposed to the establishment of a bilingual district in the region, he looked favourably on the alternative of using Section 9(2) of the Act. He also thought that in order to avoid creating problems, the Board should not hesitate to use its discretion and employ different criteria in different circumstances, if necessary, when recommending the provision of bilingual federal services.

Position of the Provincial Government

1047. When members of the Board consulted formally with the government of Alberta, its spokesman raised no specific objections to the proposed bilingual districts in the province. But we were informed that the position of the government of Alberta was that the federal government, without proclaiming bilingual districts in the province, should provide necessary bilingual services under Section 9(2) of the Official Languages Act in those areas where there was significant demand for such services.

1048. The representative of the provincial government added that his government believed that if this approach were adopted, effective federal services could be provided for the people of Alberta consistent with provincial programs and services which were delivered within a general framework of enhancing the cultural and linguistic diversity of the province. The provincial spokesman made it clear that since his government wished to foster the self-respect of every cultural group, it encouraged multiculturalism. It did not want to single out any specific group, lest that step create problems.

Summation

1049. Having reviewed the evidence and opinions in regard to the specific bilingual district which the Board was considering, we arrived at several decisions. We concluded that there was no doubt that the minority groups in the rural census subdivision 130. Smoky River and in the localities of Falher, Donnelly, Girouxville, and McLennan formed a strong and viable community for which a bilingual district would be appropriate.

1050. Since High Prairie had a number of federal offices which were used by French-speaking persons, we believed that High Prairie definitely should be included in the bilingual district.

1051. Although there was more question about incorporating the north-eastern portion and the town of Peace River, we decided that they too should be included since they possessed a reasonable number of residents of the official minority language and since the town of Peace River was not only the major regional service centre but was also the growth centre for the area.

Recommendation

1052. Accordingly, a strong majority of the Board recommends the establishment of a bilingual district known as Falher—Peace River, to be comprised in the manner already noted.

2. St. Paul—Bonnyville

a. description

the bilingual district of St. Paul—Bonnyville consists of the census subdivisions 102. Improvement District (I.D.) in the Improvement District 18, and 87. Bonnyville, in whole or in part, the enumeration areas (E.A.) No. 101, 102 and 105, of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 801 (Athabasca), the enumeration areas No. 367, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460 and 461 of the federal electoral district No. 818 (Vegreville), the towns of Bonnyville, Cold Lake, Grand Centre, Lac la Biche and St. Paul, and the villages of Bonnyville Beach, Glendon and Plamondon, in the census division No. 12.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	percentage
Division No. 12 (pt)			
subdivisions			
18. I.D. (pt)			
(102 I.D.).....	4,790	835	17.4
87. Bonnyville.....	10,935	1,415	12.9
E.D. E.A.			
801 101.....	435	205	47.1
801 102.....	300	15	5.0
801 105 (pt).....	605	5	0.8
818 367 (pt).....	1,340	5	0.4
818 451.....	225	10	4.4
818 452.....	230	55	23.9
818 453.....	270	50	18.5
818 454.....	350	245	70.0
818 455.....	380	155	40.8
818 456.....	395	175	44.3
818 457.....	250	120	48.0
818 458.....	5	—	—
818 459.....	380	120	31.6
818 460.....	595	355	59.7
818 461.....	440	—	—
towns			
Bonnyville.....	2,585	1,055	40.8
Cold Lake.....	1,305	125	9.6
Grand Centre.....	2,090	120	5.7
Lac la Biche.....	1,795	230	12.8
St. Paul.....	4,160	1,500	36.1
villages			
Bonnyville Beach.....	—	—	—
Glendon.....	355	5	1.4
Plamondon.....	190	120	63.2
total.....	34,405	6,920	20.1

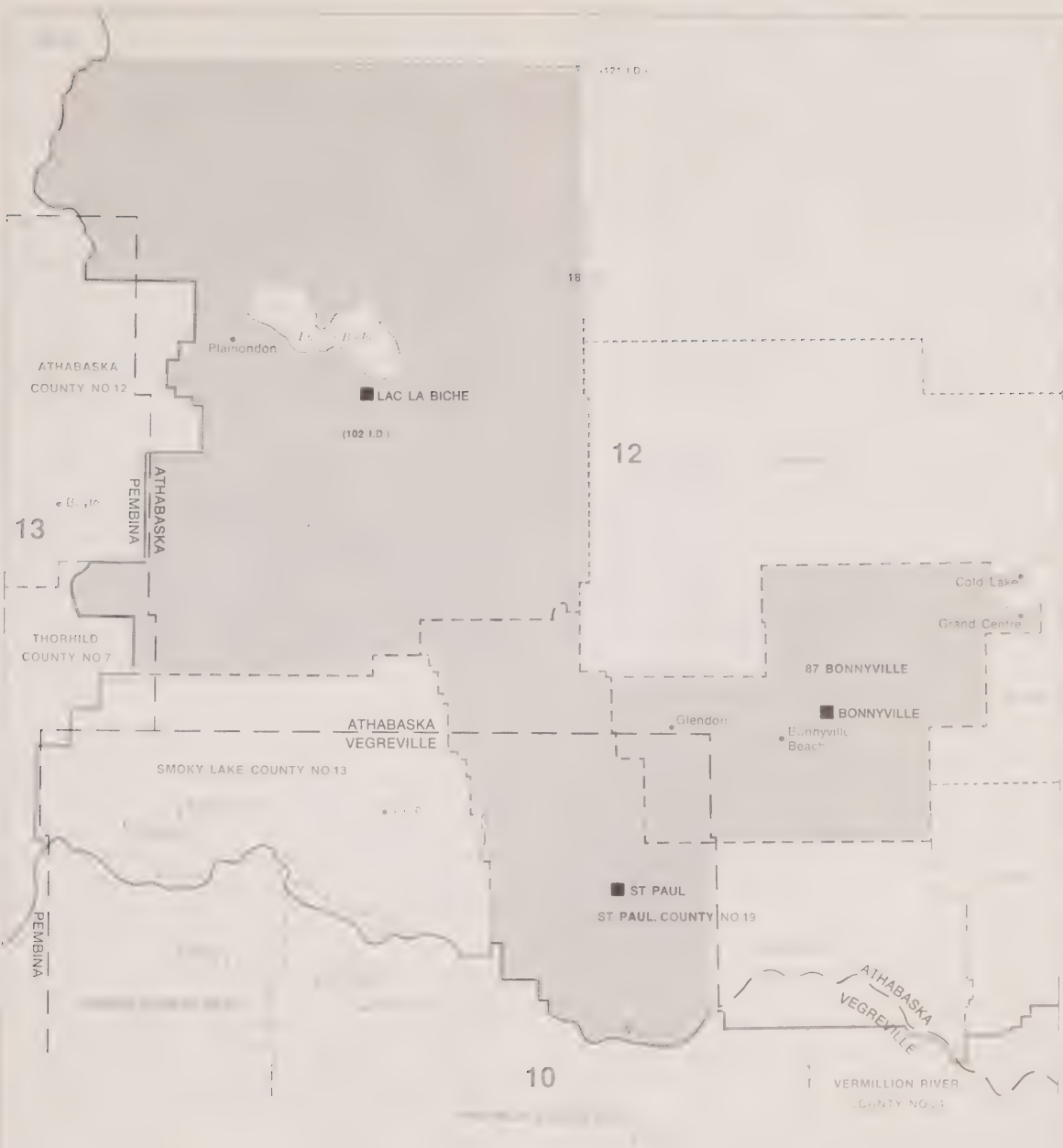
Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area even when only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of St. Paul—Bonnyville is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Athabasca, Pembina and Vegreville, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Athabasca, Bonnyville, Lac la Biche—McMurray and St. Paul.

Details

1053. The bilingual district recommended by the Board consists of two census subdivisions and certain enumeration areas, in whole or in part, and the towns of Bonnyville, Cold Lake, Grand Centre, Lac la Biche, St. Paul, and the villages of Bonnyville Beach, Glendon, and Plamondon, all of which are in census division Number 12. The area, which is quite extensive, is located approximately 100 miles north-east of Edmon-



ST PAUL-BONNYVILLE

Federal Bilingual District LEGEND

District Recommended	
Federal Electoral District	12
Census Division	
Census Subdivision	

ALBERTA

SCALE IN MILES
10 5 0 5 10
ECHELLE EN MILES

SAINT-PAUL-BONNYVILLE

District bilingue fédéral LÉGENDE

District recommandé	
Circonscription électorale fédérale	12
Division de recensement	
Subdivision de recensement	

ton, extending from the vicinity of Lac la Biche in an easterly direction to a point close to the boundary of Saskatchewan.

1054. In 1971 the proposed bilingual district had 6,920 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to 20.1 per cent. It possessed the largest number of the minority of any of the proposed bilingual districts in Saskatchewan and Alberta, and the second largest number if Manitoba was included. Since the minority was not distributed uniformly throughout the area, there was some question about where the boundaries should be drawn. There were not many federal offices in the region. Except for local post offices, most of those which existed were situated in the principal urban centre of St. Paul, although there were also a few in the town of Bonnyville.

Three Possibilities

1055. The Board believed that there were three possible options. First, we could decide whether a bilingual district was advisable in any part of the region. Second, if the answer was in the affirmative, we could consider recommending as a bilingual district only the principal centres of St. Paul and Bonnyville. Third, we might consider a more extensive area.

Visits and Consultations

1056. Representatives of the Board visited this area once, holding consultations with residents in St. Paul and Bonnyville, and subsequently in Edmonton. As previously noted, we also consulted the provincial government and several elected members from the region. To avoid repetition, we shall not refer again to the points which emerged from these latter consultations.

1057. We found that issues pertaining to language were particularly sensitive in this region. Differences of opinion were also very pronounced, especially among the minority. Thus, there were those who were quite opposed to the establishment of a bilingual district in the area and those who were very strongly in favour of a district.

1058. The issue was complicated by the fact that the census division within which the area was located had the second largest proportion of persons of a mother tongue other than English or French among all of the 15 census divisions in Alberta. This group of other mother tongue persons was also more than twice as large in numbers and proportion as the French mother tongue group. Thus, in 1971 English mother tongue

persons amounted to 56.6 per cent, French mother tongue persons to 13.7 per cent, and others to 29.7 per cent.

1059. Despite the fact that in 1971 the town of St. Paul had an official language minority amounting to 1,500 people or 36.1 per cent, the presence and vitality of the minority seemed to have diminished in recent years. We were told that the younger members of the minority, in particular, did not seem to exhibit a great deal of interest in their culture.

1060. Although several local federal offices provided their services in French and French language radio programs were available from Edmonton, French language television was limited in its dissemination since it could be obtained only by cable from Edmonton.

1061. A number of persons from St. Paul whom we met, including some members of the minority, were reluctant to support the establishment of a bilingual district since they felt it would divide the community by appearing to give to the official language minority benefits which were not available to residents whose mother tongue was not French or English. These individuals remembered with regret and foreboding an unpleasant public controversy that had occurred a few years previously in nearby Bonnyville over the issue of putting French as well as English designations on public vehicles.

1062. On the other hand, we also heard from Francophones in St. Paul who were in favour of a bilingual district. A younger member of the local community presented us with a memorandum from a French-speaking association which formally endorsed and urged the creation of a bilingual district.

1063. However, perhaps the balance of opinion among those residents of St. Paul whom we met could be summed up best by stating that while there certainly was a desire on the part of a number of Francophones for services in French, there was a preference among most of them for the provision of such services by some means other than the formal creation of a bilingual district.

1064. The situation and attitudes we encountered in Bonnyville were somewhat different from those in St. Paul. While the number of French mother tongue persons was smaller, amounting to 1,055, their proportion was greater, constituting 40.8 per cent. Perhaps because there were fewer federal services available in Bonnyville, the balance of opinion among Francophones in Bonnyville seemed to be in favour of the establishment of a bilingual district.

1065. Although some French mother tongue persons as well as some individuals of other mother tongue did not favour a bilingual district, for much the same reason as we had heard in St. Paul, there was a group of younger professionally trained and locally employed Francophones who were actively interested in their culture and anxious to assist it by having a bilingual district established. They submitted to us a memorandum favouring the creation of a bilingual district if the provincial government accepted it also.

Summation

1066. We found ourselves in some doubt about our proposal for the St. Paul—Bonnyville area, particularly because of the division in opinion on the subject amongst Francophones themselves. After some discussion we decided, however, that because of the large number and proportion of the minority and the obvious need for bilingual federal services it would be better to recommend a bilingual district.

1067. It was then necessary to decide its boundaries. Some members believed that it would be advisable to confine it to the two service centres, that is, the towns of St. Paul and Bonnyville. However, other members were convinced that the boundaries of a bilingual district should be set according to the location of members of the minority, provided they lived in an eligible area, rather than according to the site of the federal offices offering the services. When the latter view prevailed, we selected the more extensive area.

Recommendation

1068. **The Board recommends by a majority vote the establishment of a bilingual district known as St. Paul—Bonnyville, to be comprised in the fashion previously indicated.**

Large Urban Centre For Which Bilingual Services Are Recommended Under Sections 9(2) and 10

1069. As we have explained at an earlier point, the Board decided to propose that bilingual federal services should be provided under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act, to the extent that it is possible, in all federal offices serving the public in large urban centres which in 1971 had at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the respective area.⁹² We concluded that a similar supplementary recommendation, without

the requirement of a specific number of persons, should be made in respect to all provincial capitals.⁹³ The supplementary recommendations which we shall make in regard to these two matters will be presented formally in Part III of this report.⁹⁴

Edmonton

1070. According to the census of 1971, the one large urban centre in Alberta for which bilingual federal services would be provided by this means would be the census metropolitan area of Edmonton since this area had 7,860 persons, amounting to 1.6 per cent, whose language most often spoken at home was French.

1071. It may be noted that even if the census metropolitan area of Edmonton had not had in 1971 at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was French, Edmonton would have been among the provincial capitals for which bilingual federal services would have been proposed by our second supplementary recommendation.

1072. The component census subdivisions of the census metropolitan area of Edmonton and their numbers and percentages of persons whose language most often spoken at home in 1971 was French will be given in the geostatistical description of the area in Part III of this report.⁹⁵ A map of the area accompanies the description.

Note

1073. The Board draws attention to the fact that the census metropolitan area of Edmonton will be among the list of large urban centres for which the Board will make a supplementary recommendation proposing that bilingual federal services be provided.⁹⁶

The Case of Legal—Morinville—St. Albert

1074. Our Board also considered the possibility of recommending a bilingual district comparable to that recommended by the First Board under the title Legal—Morinville—St. Albert. The area which includes, in addition to Legal, Morinville, and St. Albert, the populous census subdivision 90. Sturgeon and some smaller communities is located immediately to the north of the city of Edmonton.

⁹² *Ibid.*, Part I, paragraphs 202-211, pp. 31-32.

⁹⁴ *Infra*, Part III, paragraphs 1156-1160, p. 176.

⁹⁵ *Infra*, Part III, pp. 178-179.

⁹⁶ *Infra*, Part III, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

⁹³ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 187-201, pp. 29-31.

1075. Historically, the area was settled very early by groups of French-speaking Canadians who established their own communities and cultural institutions in localities such as St. Albert, Morinville, and Legal. When the First Board made its recommendations in 1971, it was using data from the census of 1961. At that time, St. Albert, Morinville, and Legal were still quite small localities having substantial proportions of persons of French mother tongue.

1076. However, in the decade following 1961, St. Albert and Morinville experienced a major change in character. The two localities, being located just north of Edmonton, were engulfed by the extraordinarily rapid expansion of the metropolis, becoming in effect dormitory suburbs, although still retaining their own local government. In this decade St. Albert grew from a total population of 4,059 to 11,800. During the same period Morinville increased from 935 to 1,475. As the population grew, the proportion of persons of French mother tongue declined precipitously, diminishing in St. Albert from 21.0 per cent in 1961 to 7.5 per cent in 1971, and in Morinville from 60.7 per cent to 32.5 per cent in the same decade.

1077. Although the most northerly portion of the bilingual district recommended by the First Board, which included Legal and several other small towns, remained predominantly rural, the southern sector had clearly been drawn into the ambit of the metropolitan area of Edmonton, a fact which was recognized by the inclusion of this segment within Statistics Canada's designation of the census metropolitan area of Edmonton.

Visits and Consultations

1078. While the Board was still considering the possibility of recommending a bilingual district in this area, a team of Board members visited the region on three occasions, holding ten meetings. We met with elected representatives, educational authorities, and residents of St. Albert, Morinville, Legal, Westlock, and Edmonton, including persons whose mother tongue was English, French, or other. On later occasions we met with several additional elected representatives from Edmonton and its vicinity as well as with spokesmen for the government of Alberta, as has been noted previously. Altogether, we consulted with more than 75 individuals in this region.

1079. Most of the federal offices in the area were situated in Edmonton. Residents told us that a number of federal departments and agencies had made an earnest attempt to provide services in French as well as in

English in their offices in Edmonton. This effort was particularly noticeable in the case of the Departments of the Secretary of State, and Manpower, Radio-Canada, and the Canadian National Railways. Although French television programs were available in some places, there apparently was still room for improvement in French television services in the region as a whole.

1080. We encountered in some localities more than the usual degree of ignorance and misunderstanding about the principles, purposes, and requirements involved in the Official Languages Act and in bilingual districts in particular. A number of persons were convinced that the Act obliged individual citizens to learn the minority official language rather than requiring the federal government to offer services in both languages.

1081. We also encountered a division of opinion as to whether a bilingual district should be recommended in the area from St. Albert north to Westlock. The views may be summarized by remarking that usually individuals of French mother tongue were in favour of the establishment of a bilingual district while a number of persons of a mother tongue other than English or French were not.

1082. Some persons of French mother tongue agreed, however, that a prospective bilingual district should exclude census subdivision 92. Westlock in the northern part of the area. Although this census subdivision had 695 persons of French mother tongue in 1971, they amounted to only 10.2 per cent. Our respondents also believed that a proposal to include this area in a bilingual district might provoke a good deal of opposition from persons of a mother tongue other than English or French.

1083. The latter point was confirmed in a consultation which several members of the Board had with 14 persons in Westlock. Although some of those present favoured the inclusion of Westlock in a bilingual district, more than a few definitely did not. Some of them feared that the establishment of a bilingual district might disrupt the existing harmony among language groups, particularly if federal government employment practices were affected.

1084. In St. Albert, Morinville, and Legal, which in contrast to Westlock still had a distinctive French air, the residents whom we met were generally in favour of their locality being included in a bilingual district. Some again, however, were apprehensive that such a step might provoke division.

1085. The elected representatives from the region whom we met on another occasion expressed various

points of view. One said that he believed that some of the local animosity toward bilingualism had diminished since the federal government, like the provincial government, had enunciated a policy supporting multiculturalism. However, most were still opposed to endorsing as formal an arrangement as a bilingual district, preferring to have federal services provided by a more flexible, less specific means, such as the use of Section 9(2) of the Official Languages Act.

Choice of Options

1086. This latter option became more appealing to a majority of the Board the longer we discussed the case of Legal—Morinville—St. Albert.

1087. On the one hand, it was possible to consider recommending the establishment of a bilingual district in an area comprised of census subdivision 90. Sturgeon, the towns of Morinville and St. Albert, and the villages of Bon Accord, Gibbons, and Legal, which were all in census division Number 11, and census subdivision 92. Westlock, the town of Westlock, and the village of Clyde, which were all in census division Number 13. This area in 1971 contained 4,635 persons of French mother tongue, amounting to precisely 13.0 per cent.

1088. On the other hand, it was possible for us to decline to propose a bilingual district while offering

another solution for the provision of bilingual federal services. Our first supplementary recommendation that the federal government and its agencies should provide bilingual services in large urban centres such as the census metropolitan area of Edmonton would furnish bilingual services for most of the residents in the area since the census metropolitan area of Edmonton included a large portion of the prospective bilingual district. The only major localities that would not be included by this arrangement would be census subdivision 92. Westlock, the town of Westlock, and the village of Clyde.

1089. Since the evidence which we had received indicated that it might not be wise to include these localities in any case in a bilingual district, a majority of the Board did not believe that their omission from the census metropolitan area of Edmonton was a serious disadvantage to our endorsing the use of the census metropolitan area rather than a bilingual district to furnish bilingual federal services in the area.

Conclusion

1090. A strong majority of the Board therefore recommends that bilingual federal services be provided in the Legal—Morinville—St. Albert area by use of the census metropolitan area of Edmonton rather than by the establishment of a bilingual district.

British Columbia

Introduction

1091. So far as the language question is concerned British Columbia is not a province like the others. The "French fact" in British Columbia has neither the long historical roots which sustain it in other regions of the country nor the significance, visibility, and population size clearly apparent in Ontario and New Brunswick as well as in Quebec.

1092. Scarcely any French names are found among those of the explorers and traders—principally British, Spanish, and Russian—who opened up and developed the north-west Pacific coast in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. While there were competing imperial interests, there was no history of struggle and conflict between the English and the French for control of this part of the North American continent, as was the case on the Atlantic coast, in the St. Lawrence River valley, and in other areas of the interior east of the Rockies.

1093. In the territory which was organized into two British colonies and later became the province of British Columbia, the French presence made itself felt, particularly in the eighteen-forties and fifties, through the work of French priests, largely Oblates, from Quebec and France. Bishop Demers, Fathers Blanchet, Bolduc, Lemfrit, Michaud, and others, did missionary work with the Indians, established chapels, schools, and hospitals and ministered to the needs of the French-Canadian employees of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River and, after 1843, at Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island when the Company moved its headquarters there. In 1852 the only Catholic settlers on Vancouver Island were a certain number of French Canadians employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1858 Father Michaud opened St. Louis College in Victoria. The same year St. Ann's Academy for young ladies was established with the help of four sisters of St. Ann who were brought by Bishop Demers from the "Mother House" at Lachine near Montreal.

1094. During the last half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth there was generally no significant migration of French Canadians to British Columbia. However, there was one organized group movement worth noting which resulted in the establishment of Maillardville, the most important French-speaking community west of the Rockies.

1095. In 1909 the Fraser Mills Lumber Company recruited a sizable group of labourers from the Hull area in Quebec to work in their mill on the Fraser River. With the men came their families and an Oblate priest, Father Maillard. A separate village in the Quebec style, with church and school centrally located, was created in the forest near the mill, three miles from New Westminster and about 15 miles from downtown Vancouver. The community succeeded in maintaining itself for several decades but in recent years it has been engulfed by the urban spread of Greater Vancouver. For example, the suburban municipality of the corporation of Coquitlam, of which Maillardville forms part, grew from 29,000 in 1961 to over 53,000 in 1971. Meanwhile, the French mother tongue population remained almost stationary and the number of persons who reported their home language as French declined to 1,445 or 2.7 per cent of the total population of the municipality.

1096. Richard Joy has remarked in his book *Languages in Conflict, the Canadian Experience* that, "As recently as 1931, there were only 15,082 persons of French ethnic origin in the entire province and half of these had been assimilated."

1097. During the war and post-war period there was somewhat more migration of French Canadians from the prairies and the east and also a small number of French-speakers from Europe. But this migration usually involved only individuals and small groups who were widely dispersed and have tended to be assimilated rapidly.

1098. According to the 1971 census a total of only 38,000 persons in the province retain their mother

tongue and 11,500 say that French is the language they speak most often at home. In B.C. as a whole 1,775 of all age groups report French as the only official language they speak. In the Vancouver census metropolitan area, which had a total population in 1971 of 1,082,350, there were 6,000 persons who reported French as their home language and 900 for whom it was the only official language, i.e. who were unilingual French.

1099. The remainder of the French mother tongue population outside the Vancouver metropolitan area is widely scattered throughout the province with small concentrations in only a few localities. Out of the 30 divisions into which the province was organized for the 1971 census there was none which had over four per cent French mother tongue population and only five between three and four per cent. Twenty census divisions, or two-thirds, had two per cent or less. There were 10 census subdivisions out of a total of 205 with four per cent or more and only four with somewhat more than five per cent. The great majority of the subdivisions had less than two per cent French mother tongue and many less than one per cent. On the basis of the language of the home the numbers and percentages of people reporting that they spoke French most often was much smaller for all 30 census divisions—all were half or less and 25 showed returns one third, one quarter or less of the mother tongue figures.

1100. However the migration to B.C. is apparently continuing since there was a small number and percentage increase in French mother tongue population between 1961 and 1971—the only province outside Quebec to show any proportional increase. But British Columbia is overwhelmingly English-speaking whether judged in terms of mother tongue, language of the home, or official language spoken. In addition to French the province also has several other minority language groups.

1101. Although there were denominational schools prior to the first education act passed in 1872 the public school system in B.C. always has been non-sectarian, having no separate schools. There have been some attempts at bilingual schools.

1102. When British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871, the provisions of the BNA Act, including Section 133 concerning the use of French and English in the federal Parliament and federal courts, were applicable. But according to C. A. Sheppard in *The Law of Languages in Canada*, "No British Columbia statute ever conferred official status on any language. The law of England was adopted as the law of the colony from

the time of the establishment and the creation of its formal government. At that time English was the official language of all courts in Great Britain. By custom and usage the official status of English does not seem to have ever been doubted in British Columbia."

No Bilingual Districts Possible

1103. In 1971 there was no census division nor census subdivision in the province of British Columbia which had an official language mother tongue minority amounting to at least ten per cent.

1104. In 1971 the area containing the bilingual district which had been recommended under the name of Coquitlam by the First Board,⁹⁷ using data from the census of 1961, no longer was eligible as a bilingual district. The results of the 1971 census revealed that the French mother tongue population of Coquitlam had declined from 11.1 per cent in 1961 to 6.3 per cent in 1971.

1105. We examined the language statistics for other areas in British Columbia, including those which the First Board had recommended for reconsideration after the 1971 census.⁹⁸ We found that British Columbia was the one province in which the proportion of the minority of French mother tongue had increased since 1961. But despite the fact that the French mother tongue population of British Columbia had increased from 1.6 per cent to 1.7 per cent between 1961 and 1971 and in the latter year amounted to 38,035 persons, of whom about half were located in the census metropolitan area of Vancouver alone, the minority was so dispersed that it was impossible to find a concentration which, while attaining at least ten per cent, was sufficiently numerous to warrant the recommendation of a bilingual district.

Visits and Consultations

1106. Although it was impossible to recommend a bilingual district in the province, the Board believed that in any event we should meet with representatives of the government of British Columbia to inform them of the facts. We also thought that it would be useful to take advantage of the trip to Victoria to hold a consultation with interested residents in Vancouver since many local and regional federal offices were located in that large metropolis.

⁹⁷ See *Recommendations of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, March, 1971*, Ottawa, Information Canada, pp. 91-92.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

1107. This meeting was attended by 13 residents of the metropolitan area of Vancouver, most of whom were members of a provincial French cultural association. They told us that in their opinion federal services in French in Vancouver, including radio and television, were inadequate in scope and in personnel since there was an insufficient number of senior and supervisory bilingual employees. They were not interested in a bilingual district which would be confined to a limited area. They did not wish to be treated as a minority. They wanted to have an equal status for both official language groups and similar federal services in both languages throughout the entire country.

Position of the Provincial Government

1108. When a group of Board members met with two officials of the government of British Columbia, the provincial spokesmen displayed a great deal of interest in the subject of the official languages.

1109. They stated that their government had no objection in principle to bilingual districts and they regretted that it was impossible to recommend any districts in British Columbia. They remarked that the provincial government wished to improve its own bilingual capacities.

1110. When we explained that the Board was contemplating recommending that federal bilingual services should be provided in Vancouver and Victoria even though bilingual districts were not possible, the officials said that the provincial government would have no objections to such arrangements.

Large Urban Centre For Which Bilingual Services Are Recommended Under Sections 9(2) and 10

1111. As we have explained previously, the Board decided to propose that bilingual federal services should be provided under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act, to the extent that it is possible, in all federal offices serving the public in large urban centres which in 1971 had at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the respective area.⁹⁹ The supplementary recommendation which we shall make in regard to such large urban centres will be presented formally in Part III of this report.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 187-201, pp. 29-31.

¹⁰⁰ *Infra*, Part III, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

Vancouver

1112. According to the census of 1971, the one large urban centre in British Columbia for which bilingual federal services would be provided by this means would be the census metropolitan area of Vancouver, which had 6,000 persons, amounting to 0.6 per cent, whose language most often spoken at home was French.

1113. Its component census subdivisions and their numbers and percentages of persons whose language most often spoken at home in 1971 was French will be given in the geostatistical description of this area in Part III of this report.¹⁰¹ A map of the area accompanies the description.

1114. The Board was particularly pleased that it was possible to propose bilingual federal services for the census metropolitan area of Vancouver since, as already noted, it was impossible to recommend a bilingual district to ensure bilingual federal services in this area, despite the fact that the census metropolitan area of Vancouver contained in 1971 the very large number of 18,430 persons of French mother tongue.

Note

1115. The Board draws attention to the fact that the census metropolitan area of Vancouver will be among the list of large urban centres for which the Board will make a supplementary recommendation proposing that bilingual federal services be provided.¹⁰²

Provincial Capital For Which Bilingual Services Are Recommended Under Sections 9(2) and 10

1116. As noted previously, the Board concluded that it should make a supplementary recommendation for the provision of bilingual federal services in all provincial capitals.¹⁰³ This recommendation would be similar to that for large urban centres except that it would not contain the requirement of a certain number of persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the respective area. The appropriate supplementary recommendation will be presented formally in Part III of this report.¹⁰⁴

Victoria

1117. In 1971 the census metropolitan area of Victoria, the capital of British Columbia, had 560 persons,

¹⁰¹ *Infra*, Part, III, pp. 190-191.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, Supplementary Recommendation Number 1, paragraphs 1156-1157, p. 176.

¹⁰³ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 202-211 pp. 31-32.

¹⁰⁴ *Infra*, Part III, p.176.

amounting to 0.3 per cent, whose language most often spoken at home was French. Its component census subdivisions and their numbers and percentages of persons whose language most often spoken at home in 1971 was French will be given in the geostatistical description of the area in Part III of this report.¹⁰⁵ A map of the area accompanies the description.

Note

1118. The Board draws attention to the fact that the census metropolitan area of Victoria will be among the provincial capitals for which the Board will make a supplementary recommendation proposing that bilingual federal services be provided.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ *Infra*, Part III, pp. 204-205.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Supplementary Recommendation Number 2, paragraphs 1159-1160, p.176.

Yukon and Northwest Territories

Explanation

1119. In 1971 there was no census division or census subdivision in the Yukon or Northwest Territories which had an official language mother tongue minority amounting to at least ten per cent.

PART III

SUPPLEMENTARY RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Supplementary Recommendations

(1) Provision of Bilingual Services in Large Urban Centres

We recommend that services be provided, to the extent it is possible, in both official languages under Section 9(2) and Section 10 of the Official Languages Act in all federal offices of any kind serving the public and located in large urban centres which had in 1971 at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the respective locality.

(2) Provision of Bilingual Services in Provincial Capitals

We recommend that services be provided, to the extent it is possible, in both official languages under Section 9(2) and Section 10 of the Official Languages Act in all federal offices of any kind serving the public and located in each of the provincial capitals in Canada.

(3) Posting of Notices of Availability of Bilingual Services

We recommend that all federal offices supplying bilingual services announce this fact to the public by posting appropriate bilingual signs near the point of service.

(4) Appointment of a Continuing Body

We recommend that an independent agency be created as a full-time, continuing body composed of from three to five members, to conduct research and investigations in the fields of language policies and problems in Canada, to issue reports upon such activities, and to provide information and advice upon language matters.

Introduction

1120. The Board's detailed examination of the Official Languages Act and the conduct of our inquiry revealed to us a number of complexities, problems, and grievances. We have discussed these matters extensively in Part I of our report.¹

1121. We do not think that it is necessary to review some of these subjects at this juncture. When they were examined in Part I, the Board expressed its opinions and gave its reasons for not proposing any significant changes or supplementary recommendations.² However, in regard to certain other matters, we believe it would be useful to conclude our discussion by adding a few remarks. In four cases we deem that the subjects are so important that we wish to offer specific supplementary recommendations. These will be presented after we have made our observations.

Comments Without Recommendations

1122. One question which arose in connection with our recommendations of specific bilingual districts was whether we should follow the precedent of the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board and list areas for consideration as bilingual districts after the next census.

1123. The First Board had appended to its recommended districts in some provinces a notation of those regions which in 1961 did not qualify as bilingual districts because the minority within them did not amount to at least ten per cent of the population, but which had a sufficiently large percentage of the minority that, given a significant degree of growth in the ensuing decade, they might meet the minimal requirement for a district after the 1971 census. In identifying

¹ In particular, *supra*, Part I, Chapter 2, Review of the Act; Chapter 4, Visits and Consultations; and Chapter 5, Issues and Rationale.

² For these items, see *supra*, Part I, paragraphs 105-106, p. 18; paragraphs 114-121, pp. 19-20; paragraphs 136-142, pp. 22-23; paragraphs 143-149, pp. 23-24; paragraphs 152-158, pp. 24-25; paragraphs 163-167, p. 26; and paragraphs 175-176, pp. 27-28.

such areas, the First Board was motivated by the belief that it was wise to draw to the attention of the succeeding Board the regions that came closest to being eligible as bilingual districts according to the 1961 census.

1124. Our Board appreciated the merit of the First Board's intention. But after discussing the advisability of our following the same practice, we concluded that it would be unnecessary since each subsequent Board, in our opinion, would undoubtedly review thoroughly all of the language data emerging from the census with which it was working and would consider carefully every potential bilingual district. Inasmuch as we believed it would be redundant, we decided not to list any additional areas for consideration as bilingual districts after the next complete census in 1981.

1125. A major consideration to which we devoted a good deal of thought was whether we should make supplementary recommendations proposing certain amendments to the Official Languages Act.

1126. It will be recalled that the Board had found it difficult to discover agreed definitions for certain crucial words and phrases that appear in some of the most important sections of the Act. Thus, in company with various authorities, we had been perplexed by the meaning of the phrase "principal offices" in Section 9(1)³ and the interpretation to be given to the words "significant demand" and "feasible" in Section 9(2)⁴. There was also the question of the meaning to be attached to the phrase "significant demand" and the word "irregular" in Section 10(3).⁵

1127. Although we expended considerable effort trying to define these terms satisfactorily, we were unable to arrive at acceptable solutions. Since we saw both advantages and disadvantages in trying to define them more precisely, and since in any event we had no alternative definitions to offer, we concluded that we should not propose the amendment of the relevant sections of the Act. However, we would suggest respectfully that if, after bilingual districts have been proclaimed, experience reveals that it would be advantageous to define the terms more precisely, Parliament should attempt to clarify the obscurities. In the interval, we would urge that the terms be interpreted generously to provide services in their own official language to minority

groups who live within bilingual districts or are served in some other way.

1128. We came to a negative conclusion also when we reviewed the proposal that the Act might be amended to replace the term "bilingual district" by some such phrase as "official languages district". Our inquiry and consultations had revealed that there was antipathy in certain quarters to the word "bilingual".⁶ We also realized that the word was somewhat ambiguous and that the phrase "official languages district" would be more definite and correct. But we did not believe it was worth amending the Act simply to change this phrase. However, if the Act is amended at some point, we would suggest that consideration be given to changing the term "bilingual district," whenever it appears in the Act, to "official languages district".

1129. Similarly, we concluded, after much discussion,⁷ that although we found the proposal to create bilingual communities was imaginative and stimulating, it would be premature to recommend amendment of the Act to provide for the establishment of bilingual communities as well as bilingual districts before the latter had actually been proclaimed and were already functioning. Nevertheless, we believed that if the Act were amended at some point, there was sufficient merit in the concept of bilingual communities to warrant careful study of the proposal.

1130. Turning to some of the more general problems which had emerged from our consultations with individuals, we recalled that we had encountered repeatedly among the public a great lack of knowledge and a great many misconceptions about the fundamental intention, the specific purposes, and the contents of the Official Languages Act, in particular in regard to the nature and objectives of bilingual districts.⁸ We believed that this lack of public enlightenment was a serious and unnecessary impediment to the effective implementation of the Act.

1131. Without making a formal recommendation, we would suggest respectfully that some federal body should take appropriate steps to inform the public more extensively about the intention and substance of the Official Languages Act, especially in reference to the purpose and nature of bilingual districts. Perhaps the department of the Secretary of State would be the most suitable agency to direct this activity.

³ See our discussion *supra*, Part I, paragraphs 38-39, p. 8, paragraph 87, p. 15, and paragraphs 123-128, p. 21.

⁴ See the discussion *supra*, Part I, paragraphs 40-41, p. 8, paragraph 87, p. 15, and paragraphs 152-158, pp. 24-25.

⁵ *Supra*, Part I, paragraph 33, p. 7; paragraph 205, pp. 31-32; paragraph 207, p. 32.

⁶ *Supra*, Part I, paragraph 78, p. 14.

⁷ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 177-186, pp. 28-29.

⁸ *Supra*, Part I, paragraph 7, p. 3; and paragraph 89, pp. 15-16.

1132. As we have noted previously,⁹ the Board discovered among many minority official language groups a great desire for the provision of adequate public education at all levels in the minority's language. The concern to obtain education in their own language was undoubtedly the most important issue in the minds of most minority groups whom we met.

1133. Although we are well aware that education is a subject under provincial jurisdiction and that we are a Board reporting to a federal authority, we feel that we would be remiss in our duty if we did not leave a clear impression of the evidence we encountered and of the priority that most minority groups attached to education. We also realize that the federal government has had some role in education. In the past it has contributed financially toward technical education by means of conditional grants to the provinces and more recently it has subsidized post-secondary education and instruction provided by the provinces in the minority official language. For those reasons we do not think it presumptuous for a federal board of inquiry to offer comments on certain educational problems we encountered.

1134. First, we heard on a number of occasions urgent requests for technical education in the French language. From what we could perceive we were convinced that the need was real and we believed that the pleas were justified. Second, we sympathize with the complaints made on occasion by local educational authorities that the provincial governments disbursed funds received from the federal government for the teaching of the minority language in a manner that did not conform to the wishes and plans of the local authorities.¹⁰ We would draw attention to this problem, as well as to the problem of providing technical education in French, and urge that appropriate solutions be devised.

1135. A second major complaint of a number of minority groups was that they did not receive television and radio programs in their own language.¹¹ We concluded that the grievance was well founded since we experienced first-hand some of the deficiencies during our visits to certain localities. We recalled that the First Bilingual Districts Advisory Board also had noted the inadequacies of television and radio programming in the minority language and had urged the Canadian Radio-Television Commission and the

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to provide these essential services.¹² The present Board agreed with the First Board that the deficiencies were very serious and we contemplated making a supplementary recommendation in our report proposing that the broadcasting authorities should make every effort to improve radio and television services in the minority's language, particularly within bilingual districts.

1136. However, we were pleased to find that the need for such a recommendation became superfluous when the Secretary of State announced, during the latter part of our inquiry, that the federal government had approved the Accelerated Coverage Plan of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.¹³ According to this plan, the CBC will spend \$50 million during the five-year period commencing in 1974 to extend its radio and television coverage to some 800,000 or 900,000 Canadians who have been served inadequately in the past in either English or French programming. This far-reaching plan, which calls for 600 engineering projects, will provide services in English or in French or in both languages as quickly as possible within the five-year period to all communities having 500 or more people who can be reached by a transmitter.

1137. Further inquiry on our part elicited the information that the CBC had used such a generous method of calculating the size of minority populations that it was more than likely that every community possessing even approximately 500 persons of French or English mother tongue would soon be assured of receiving radio and television programs in the minority language.

1138. Since the figure of 500 individuals of French or English mother tongue was less than the minimal number of the minority in any of the bilingual districts which we were recommending, we felt confident that past deficiencies in broadcasting services in both official languages would soon be overcome in the areas we were proposing as bilingual districts, as well as in certain other localities.

1139. Inasmuch as the report of any board of inquiry such as ours tends by nature to be critical, we are pleased to be able to strike a positive note and to give credit where it is due. We would like to congratulate the federal government and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for inaugurating the accelerated coverage plan to overcome long-standing, serious disadvantages

⁹ *Supra*, Part I, paragraph 76, p. 14; paragraphs 90-94, p. 16.

¹⁰ *Supra*, Part I, paragraph 92, p. 16, and Part II, paragraph 363, p. 57.

¹¹ *Supra*, Part I, paragraph 90, p. 16; paragraphs 93-94, p. 16; and Part II, paragraphs 370-371, p. 58.

¹² See *Recommendations of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, March, 1971, op. cit.*, paragraph 18, pp. 21-22.

¹³ See *Notes for an Address by the Secretary of State J. Hugh Faulkner, at the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, Toronto, February 14, 1974, pp. 10-12.*

that both French and English minorities have experienced previously. We trust that the plan will be pursued assiduously and in its entirety, as promised.

1140. Although it was less serious than the lack of services which we have just discussed, one other grievance in regard to broadcasting should be mentioned. We found that a number of minority groups complained that the programs available to them in their own language did not meet their local needs. We were informed, for example, by the English-speaking minority in the Gaspé that since the English television programs which they were able to receive originated in New Brunswick, the Gaspesians obtained less news coverage of their own province of Quebec and of their locality than they desired. Similar complaints about the unsuitability of broadcasts were voiced by French-speaking minorities, particularly in the West, who wished to receive French programs that dealt with their own local interests. Finally, although not all of the Board agreed with the concept of establishing priorities, one of our members believed that we should mention as a priority the need for broadcasting services in French in Northern Ontario.

1141. During the course of our inquiry, several questions relating to the administration of the federal public service had emerged. It had been suggested, for instance, that we should consider the possibility of recommending the relocation of federal offices in certain instances where such a change might increase the likelihood of bilingual services being provided and make them more accessible to the minority.¹⁴ Thus, a regional departmental office might be moved from its present site in a populous city to a smaller locality where the minority was larger in percentage, for example, from Ottawa to Cornwall or Hawkesbury, or from St. John to Moncton.

1142. It was argued that this kind of decentralization would increase the possibility of hiring bilingual employees locally and serve the minority better by bringing federal facilities to their region rather than by obliging residents to travel to the present site of the services. If federal offices dispensing bilingual services were transferred to smaller centres, the local minority language community might be strengthened also.

1143. In conjunction with this proposal, the Board studied the suggestion made by one of the Members of Parliament with whom we consulted. As a means of

reducing some of the frictions that had occurred locally when bilingual services were introduced, he had suggested that the federal government might be well advised to appoint in such places a consultative committee composed of local residents and representatives of the federal government and the respective provincial government to advise the public service upon the implementation of bilingual services in the area.

1144. Although the Board discussed both of these suggestions, we decided for two reasons not to make recommendations upon them. In the first place, we concluded that Section 15(3) of the Act permitted us to make specific recommendations about administrative changes in federal services only in certain circumstances, namely, if these alterations were necessary to adapt a federal bilingual district to a provincial or municipal bilingual area.¹⁵ Since there were no provincial or municipal areas which could be considered as designated bilingual areas, outside of perhaps New Brunswick, we believed that we had no authority to make principal recommendations in this regard.

1145. Second, although we were of the opinion that we might offer supplementary recommendations in any case, we decided on reflection not to do so since the problem of the location of federal offices was so substantial and complex that we believed it required much more study than we had been able to devote to it.

1146. There was an additional aspect of federal public administration upon which we felt we would like to make some comments. During our inquiry we had been advised more than once that work in the federal public service in Quebec should be conducted in French, just as it was conducted in English in the preponderantly English-speaking parts of Canada.¹⁶ It was pointed out also that it would be natural for the same principle to be applied in certain other localities. Thus, it was argued that the prevailing language of work in the federal public service should be French in Quebec and in other areas of the country in which most of the population was French-speaking, although, of course, federal services would continue to be provided in English, where necessary, in these areas both inside and outside of bilingual districts.

1147. While we could see the equity of the argument, we hesitated to present it as a simple and categorical

¹⁴ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 47-48, p. 9; paragraph 77, p. 14; and Part II, paragraph 406, p. 65.

¹⁵ See *infra*, Part V, Appendix 1, The Official Languages Act, Section 15(3).

¹⁶ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 226-242, pp. 34-36.

supplementary recommendation because we realized that it overlooked the problem of the existence of concentrations of the official language minority among the regional majority. The corollary of recommending that the language of work in the federal public service in Quebec should be French was the acceptance of English as the language of work in federal institutions in, for instance, New Brunswick and Ontario. But such an arrangement would ignore the fact that in certain areas of New Brunswick and Ontario French-speaking persons were in the majority or were so numerous that they formed a very substantial proportion of the total population and might well expect some units of the local federal administration to be conducted in French.

1148. Our conclusion was that although we did not wish to make a supplementary recommendation on the subject, it seemed equitable to us to endorse the principle that the language of work in federal offices outside the National Capital Region¹⁷ should be in the language of the majority in the area being served by the office. In addition, if there were a significant demand for services in the language of the minority in the area and if it were feasible, the office serving the area might include units working in the language of the minority.

1149. We believed that there need not be any impediment to implementing these principles. The general regulatory power contained in Section 35 of the Official Languages Act gives the federal government ample authority to make such arrangements.¹⁸ No doubt the adoption of these particular policies could be accelerated if two developments occurred. First, if the minority persevered in asking for federal services in its own language, a demand would be created. Second, if appointed and elected public servants, including senior incumbents such as ministers of the crown, used their minority language frequently in their daily round, a trend would be set in the direction of achieving functioning bilingualism.

Four Supplementary Recommendations

1150. Although we concluded that we did not wish to make any specific recommendations in regard to the matters which we have just reviewed, we believed that there were four subjects about which we should make supplementary recommendations. While we regarded

as important all of the topics which we have discussed, these four seemed to us to be particularly pertinent.

1151. Recommendations numbered one, two, and four are more substantive than number three, which is procedural but related to the first two and therefore sequential. In our opinion the first two recommendations are priority items. Since they are designed to ensure the provision of bilingual federal services in certain large urban centres and in each provincial capital, they are part and parcel of our total conception of how bilingual federal services may be provided most effectively to the Canadian public. Thus, we believe that they should be implemented simultaneously with the proclamation of bilingual districts themselves.

1152. We deem the first two supplementary recommendations to be such an integral segment of our plan for the provision of bilingual services that if the Act permitted, we would give them a status that was equivalent to that of the recommended bilingual districts. They appear as supplementary recommendations only because the terms of the Act do not allow us to present them among the principal recommendations, and not because we look upon them as secondary in importance.

1153. The two recommendations are closely connected. Indeed, they might have been presented as one recommendation since they embody two aspects of the same principle, that is, the desirability of providing bilingual federal services to as many members of the minority as possible in large urban centres.

1154. What distinguishes the two recommendations is the number of persons affected and the fact that some of the urban centres involve provincial capital cities. Thus, the first recommendation proposes that bilingual federal services be provided in large urban centres which, not being located within the National Capital Region or in a recommended bilingual district, had in 1971 at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the respective locality. The second recommendation proposes that the same underlying principle of providing services to the minority be extended to all of the capitals of the ten provinces in Canada. Although in some of these cities the number of persons speaking the minority language most often in their own homes was considerably less than 5,000, the interrelation between the two recommendations is evident in the fact that four of the provincial capitals are included within the terms of the first recommendation.

¹⁷ The National Capital Region is dealt with as a separate entity in Section 9(1) of the Official Languages Act. See *Infra*, Part V, Appendix 1, The Official Languages Act, Section 9(1).

¹⁸ See *ibid*, Section 35.

1155. We believe that we have devoted sufficient attention in Part I of our report to a detailed explanation of the reasoning that led us to arrive at these two recommendations that we need not repeat the argumentation here.¹⁹ We will simply present our recommendations.

(1) Provision of Bilingual Services in Large Urban Centres

1156. We recommend that services be provided, to the extent it is possible, in both official languages under Section 9(2) and Section 10 of the Official Languages Act in all federal offices of any kind serving the public and located in large urban centres which had in 1971 at least 5,000 persons whose language most often spoken at home was the minority official language in the respective locality.

1157. According to the statistics derived from the census of 1971, these urban centres would be the census metropolitan areas of Toronto, Winnipeg, Quebec, St. Catharines—Niagara, Edmonton, and Vancouver, and the census agglomeration of Sherbrooke.²⁰ Geostatistical descriptions and maps of these localities will be provided subsequently.²¹

1158. To this group, we would add the census metropolitan area of Montreal, for the reasons which we have given previously.²² A geostatistical description and map of this area also follows.

(2) Provision of Bilingual Services in Provincial Capitals

1159. We recommend that services be provided, to the extent it is possible, in both official languages under Section 9(2) and Section 10 of the Official Languages Act in all federal offices of any kind serving the public and located in each of the provincial capitals in Canada.

1160. In addition to the four census metropolitan areas of Toronto, Winnipeg, Quebec, and Edmonton, the list of provincial capitals would include the census metropolitan areas of Halifax, Regina, Victoria, and St.

John's, and the census agglomerations of Fredericton and Charlottetown.²³ Geostatistical descriptions and maps of these localities will be presented subsequently.²⁴

(3) Posting of Notices of Availability of Bilingual Services

1161. Our third supplementary recommendation is minor in comparison to the other recommendations. It concerns procedure while the other proposals are substantive. However, we believe the recommendation is still worth making.

1162. We have remarked previously that there is confusion in the public's mind about the provision of bilingual federal services. We have noted also that some Canadians are hesitant to ask for federal services in their own official language because they do not know whether such services are available. Therefore, we think it would be useful to the public and reassuring to some citizens if federal offices providing bilingual services would make this fact known to the public by posting a notice at the point of service; for instance, by displaying a bilingual sign on a counter, indicating that such facilities are available. This recommendation may appear to be trivial, but we believe that if it were implemented, many Canadians might profit from such notices, in particular travellers to large urban centres and provincial capitals as well as residents within them.

1163. Accordingly, we recommend that all federal offices supplying bilingual services announce this fact to the public by posting appropriate bilingual signs near the point of service.

(4) Appointment of a Continuing Body

1164. Our fourth supplementary recommendation arose out of quite different circumstances. As we have explained previously,²⁵ the Board found that while our work progressed, our staff received an increasing number of requests for assistance from various public bodies and private organizations which were seeking information and advice about matters relating to language policy.

1165. We have indicated our surprise at discovering that there apparently was no other body which possessed the amount of detailed information we had acquired about the intricacies and complexities of the

¹⁹ For our reasoning in regard to Supplementary Recommendation (1), Provision of Bilingual Services in Large Urban Centres, see *supra*, Part I, paragraphs 187-201, pp. 29-31. For our reasoning in regard to Supplementary Recommendation (2), Provision of Bilingual Services in Provincial Capitals, see *supra*, Part I, paragraphs 202-211, pp. 31-32.

²⁰ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 195-199, pp. 30-31.

²¹ *Infra*, pp. 178-193.

²² *Supra*, Part I, paragraph 200, p. 31, and paragraphs 226-242, pp. 34-36.

²³ *Supra*, Part I, paragraphs 202-204, p. 31.

²⁴ *Infra*, pp. 194-205.

²⁵ *Supra*, Part I, paragraph 29, p. 6.

distribution of language populations in Canada. Yet there was an obvious need for such knowledge, demonstrated by the specific requests to our Board.

1166. We ourselves had experienced this need when we commenced our inquiry. Despite the fact that the First Board had preceded our Board by less than two years, there was little carry-over from the First Board to the Second, except in the case of some personnel who had served the original Board and who fortunately happened to be available to serve its successor.

1167. However, there had been no provision for continuity in research and the updating of data during the period that elapsed between the lives of the two Boards. Since, according to the Act, a Board is to be appointed after each decennial census, the interval between Boards could be close to ten years. Although in our case the interval was much shorter, that circumstance was probably unique.²⁰ Moreover, despite the brevity of the interval, we still found that it was necessary to commence our research almost *de novo*.

1168. It took a number of months to compile the statistical tabulations and the cartographic material we needed to make recommendations which were based on thorough and innovative research. Obviously, this period might have been much longer if the interval between the two Boards had been more extended, as it normally would be. We concluded, therefore, that it would be wise to have some sort of continuing body which would compile and maintain a current record of the relevant statistical and geographical information that emerged between the terms of Boards, for instance, pertinent data on population migrations and changes in the proportions of official language groups throughout the country.

1169. We believed that such a body could perform several additional very important functions. While it would not replace a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, it could maintain liaison between two successive Boards, even serving as a permanent staff of Boards. It also would be an established source of information on language matters for persons and organizations which needed assistance and consulted it. If required, it could organize and coordinate local and regional voluntary advisory groups which were interested in language

matters. Since it would be the source and repository of such information on language issues in the country, it would be well prepared to publish material dealing with this important subject.

1170. Finally, if the body were to carry on these functions, it obviously would be useful to the federal government and its agencies by providing advice on language policy in general and on bilingual services in particular. We believe that such a body, by virtue of both its research function and its advisory capacity, would play a productive role in solving language problems.

1171. The new body would not duplicate the work of the Commissioner of Official Languages. Indeed, on the contrary, the body would complement it. The Commissioner's function is essentially to supervise the implementation of the Official Languages Act and to investigate disputes arising under it. The new body which we have in mind would be devoted primarily to fact-gathering and research. It would keep track of demographic changes, in particular in bilingual districts, and note the impact these changes might have upon actual and potential demand for federal bilingual services. This type of information could be very useful to the Commissioner of Official Languages, as well as to others.

1172. We believe that the body which we are suggesting would function best if it were established as an entity completely independent of any government department or agency. It should be, in our opinion, as independent as a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, and established in much the same way as a permanent quasi-board of inquiry.

1173. We think that it should be a small but effective organization, having a full-time director and an adequate, full-time research staff composed of perhaps three to five individuals who might be drawn from different regions of the country and who together could provide professional competence in such disciplines as demography, statistics, geography, socio-linguistics, and law.

1174. We recommend, therefore, that an independent agency be created as a full-time, continuing body composed of from three to five members, to conduct research and investigations in the fields of language policies and problems in Canada, to issue reports upon such activities, and to provide information and advice upon language matters.

²⁰ The original Board was appointed in 1970, following the passage of the Official Languages Act in 1969. Presumably, if the Board had been in existence earlier, the First Board would have been established soon after the results of the 1961 census were available. The Second Board was appointed in 1972.

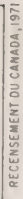
Geostatistical Descriptions of Large Urban Centres and Provincial Capitals for which Bilingual Services are Recommended Under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act*

(1) Large Urban Centres

EDMONTON, ALTA.

Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking French Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
EDMONTON, ALTA.	495,910	7,860	1.6
Division No. 11, (Part)			
Edmonton C.....	438,425	6,000	
Bon Accord, Vill.....	360	—	
Fort Saskatchewan, T.....	5,755	75	
Gibbons, Vill.....	605	—	
Legal, Vill.....	620	370	
Morinville, T.....	1,520	290	
St. Albert, T.....	11,845	390	
Strathcona, County No. 20.....	25,765	100	
90. Sturgeon, Mun.....	10,680	645	
Indian Reserves	330	—	

* All statistics are derived from the 1971 Census.

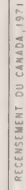
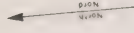


MONTREAL, QUE.

Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking English Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
MONTREAL, QUE.	2,743,235	683,390	24.9
Ile-de-Montréal et Ile-Jésus.....	2,187,155	572,680	
Montreal, C.....	1,214,380	225,845	
Anjou, T.....	33,895	4,565	
Baie-d'Urfe, T.....	3,880	3,550	
Beaconsfield, C.....	19,450	17,425	
Côte-St-Luc, C.....	24,375	20,665	
Dollard-des-Ormeaux, T.....	25,215	19,630	
Dorval, C.....	20,465	14,045	
Hampstead, T.....	7,035	6,115	
Ile-Dorval, T.....	5	—	
Kirkland, T.....	2,860	2,305	
Lachine, C.....	44,440	17,720	
Lasalle, C.....	72,905	30,920	
Laval, C.....	227,980	35,235	
Montréal-Est, T.....	5,060	815	
Montréal-Nord, C.....	89,135	7,670	
Montréal-Ouest, T.....	6,370	5,730	
Mont-Royal, T.....	21,565	14,015	
Outremont, C.....	28,625	6,180	
Pierrefonds, C.....	33,015	20,990	
Pointe-aux-Trembles, C.....	35,550	2,760	
Pointe-Claire, C.....	27,300	22,860	
Roxboro, T.....	7,630	4,870	
Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue, T.....	5,035	2,005	
Ste-Geneviève, T.....	2,870	430	
St-Jean-de-Dieu, Mun.....	3,760	20	
St-Laurent, C.....	62,940	31,215	
St-Léonard, C.....	52,040	5,940	
St-Pierre, T.....	6,795	1,295	
St-Raphaël-de-l'Ile-Bizard, Mun.....	2,930	235	
Senneville, Vill.....	1,370	855	
Verdun, C.....	74,700	27,710	
Westmount, C.....	23,570	19,085	
Beauharnois (Part).....	11,440	400	
Beauharnois, C.....	8,005	165	
Maple Grove, T.....	1,715	190	
Melocheville, Vill.....	1,720	40	
Chambly.....	231,590	48,005	
Boucherville, T.....	20,000	1,650	
Carignan, T.....	3,340	665	
Chambly, C.....	11,455	2,760	
Greenfield Park, T.....	15,355	9,600	
Lafèche, C.....	15,120	2,990	
Lemoyne, T.....	8,195	690	
Longueuil, C.....	97,585	7,300	
St-Basile-le-Grand, T.....	4,400	560	
St-Bruno-de-Montarville, T.....	15,785	6,300	
St-Hubert, T.....	21,740	6,205	
St-Lambert, C.....	18,620	9,275	
Châteauguay (Part).....	40,005	16,300	
Châteauguay, T.....	15,795	8,565	
Châteauguay-Centre, T.....	17,900	6,950	
Léry, T.....	2,295	525	
Mercier, T.....	4,010	260	
Deux-Montagnes (Part).....	30,915	7,340	
Deux-Montagnes, C.....	8,625	4,885	
Pointe-Calumet, Vill.....	2,240	130	
St-Eustache, Mun.....	7,410	410	
St-Eustache, T.....	9,475	1,665	
Ste-Marthe-sur-le-Lac, Mun.....	3,165	250	

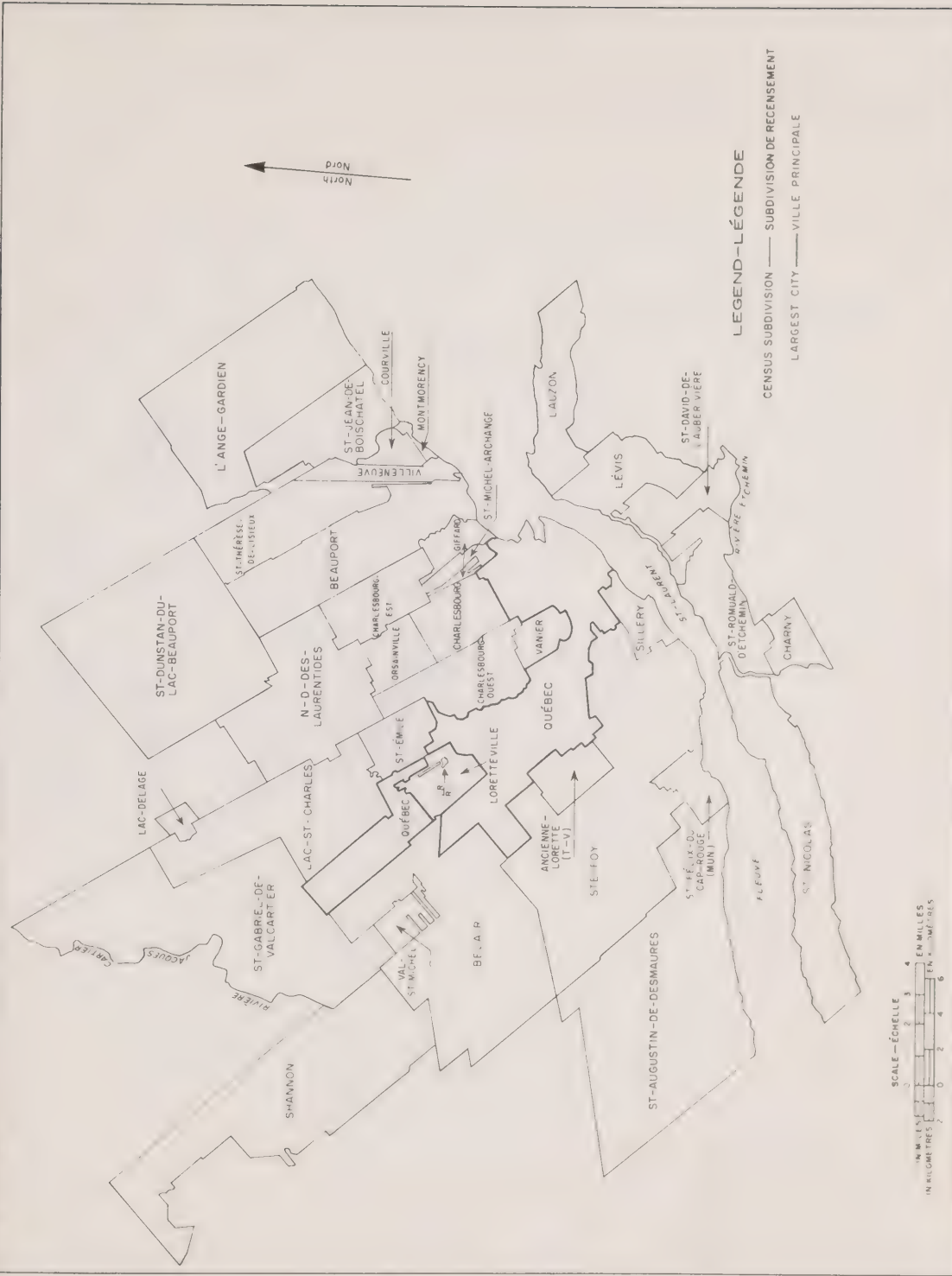
Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking English Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
MONTREAL, QUE. (concluded)			
Laprairie (Part).....	56,455	11,920	
Brossard, T.....	23,545	5,730	
Candiac, T.....	5,130	1,780	
Delson, T.....	2,990	445	
La Prairie, T.....	8,315	220	
Notre-Dame, Mun.....	2,815	270	
Ste-Catherine-d'Alexandrie- de-Laprairie, Mun.....	3,935	260	
St-Constant, Mun.....	5,740	415	
Indian Reserves.....	3,985	2,800	
L'Assomption (Part).....	51,065	2,280	
Charlemagne, T.....	4,110	70	
L'Assomption, Mun.....	1,880	35	
L'Assomption, T.....	5,015	35	
L'Epiphanie, Mun.....	1,470	—	
L'Epiphanie, T.....	2,935	15	
Mascouche, T.....	8,795	1,440	
Repentigny, T.....	19,530	505	
St-Charles-de-Lachenaie, Mun.....	3,670	50	
St-Paul-L'Ermite, Mun.....	3,660	130	
Rouville (Part).....	19,310	4,060	
Marieville, T.....	4,635	40	
Mont-St-Hilaire, T.....	5,775	1,275	
N.-D.-de-Bon-Secours, Mun.....	735	35	
Otterburn, Park, T.....	3,480	2,435	
Richelieu, T.....	1,770	180	
Ste-Marie-de-Monnoir, Mun.....	1,270	40	
St-Mathias, Mun.....	1,645	45	
Terrebonne (Part).....	61,530	8,285	
Blainville, T.....	9,640	880	
Bois-des-Filion, Vill.....	4,065	110	
Lorraine, T.....	3,150	1,420	
Rosemère, T.....	6,715	3,635	
St-Louis-de-Terrebonne, Mun.....	4,295	160	
Ste-Thérèse, C.....	17,165	1,215	
Ste-Thérèse-Ouest, T.....	7,280	660	
Terrebonne, T.....	9,215	205	
Vaudreuil (Part).....	28,115	9,855	
Dorion, T.....	6,210	1,220	
Hudson, T.....	4,380	3,320	
Ile-Cadieux, T.....	40	20	
Ile-Perrot, T.....	4,195	470	
N.-D.-de-l'Ile-Perrot, Mun.....	1,405	415	
Pincourt, T.....	5,845	3,375	
Pointe-du-Moulin, T.....	160	50	
Terrasse-Vaudreuil, Mun.....	1,750	450	
Vaudreuil, T.....	3,870	510	
Vaudreuil-sur-le-Lac, Vill.....	265	25	
Verchères (Part).....	25,660	2,275	
Beloeil, T.....	12,395	1,625	
McMasterville, Vill.....	2,390	420	
St-Amable, Mun.....	2,495	15	
Ste-Anne-de-Varennes, Mun.....	2,950	55	
Ste-Julie, Mun.....	2,620	70	
St-Mathieu-de-Beloeil, Mun.....	465	—	
Varennes, Vill.....	2,345	85	

CENSUS SUBDIVISION — SUBDIVISION DE RECENSEMENT
LARGEST CITY — VILLE PRINCIPALE



QUEBEC, QUE.

Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking English Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
QUEBEC, QUE.	480,410	16,955	3.5
Quebec (Part).....	420,805	14,520	
Quebec, C.....	186,030	5,325	
Ancienne-Lorette, T.....	8,300	120	
Beauport, C.....	14,680	105	
Belair, T.....	4,505	40	
Charlesbourg, C.....	33,455	390	
Charlesbourg-Est, Mun.....	1,460	20	
Charlesbourg-Ouest, Mun.....	1,720	20	
Courville, T.....	6,170	60	
Giffard, C.....	13,140	135	
Lac-Delage, T.....	65	—	
Lac-St-Charles, Mun.....	2,320	55	
Loretteville, C.....	11,660	440	
Montmorency, T.....	4,950	25	
N.-D.-des-Laurentides, T.....	5,240	80	
Orsainville, T.....	12,545	135	
St-Dunstan-du-Lac-Beauport, Mun.....	1,155	100	
St-Émile, Vill.....	2,670	25	
St-Félix-du-Cap-Rouge, Mun.....	2,975	95	
Ste-Foy, C.....	68,420	4,690	
St-Gabriel-de-Valcartier, Mun...	1,845	730	
St-Michel-Archange, Mun.....	4,160	45	
Ste-Thérèse-de-Lisieux, Mun.....	2,770	25	
Sillery, C.....	13,940	1,455	
Val-St-Michel, T.....	2,045	275	
Vanier, T.....	9,680	55	
Villeneuve, T.....	4,065	80	
Indian Reserves.....	850	5	
Lévis (Part)	48,805	575	
Charny, T.....	5,175	85	
Lauzon, C.....	12,815	105	
Lévis, C.....	16,595	175	
St-David-de-l'Auberivière, T. .	3,895	50	
St-Nicolas, T.....	1,935	10	
St-Romuald-d'Etchemin, C.....	8,390	145	
Montmorency No. 1 (Part)	3,940	30	
L'Ange-Gardien, Mun.....	2,150	10	
St-Jean-de-Boischatel, Vill.....	1,795	20	
Portneuf (Part)	6,860	1,840	
St-Augustin-de-Desmaures, Mun.....	2,910	20	
Shannon, Mun.....	3,950	1,820	



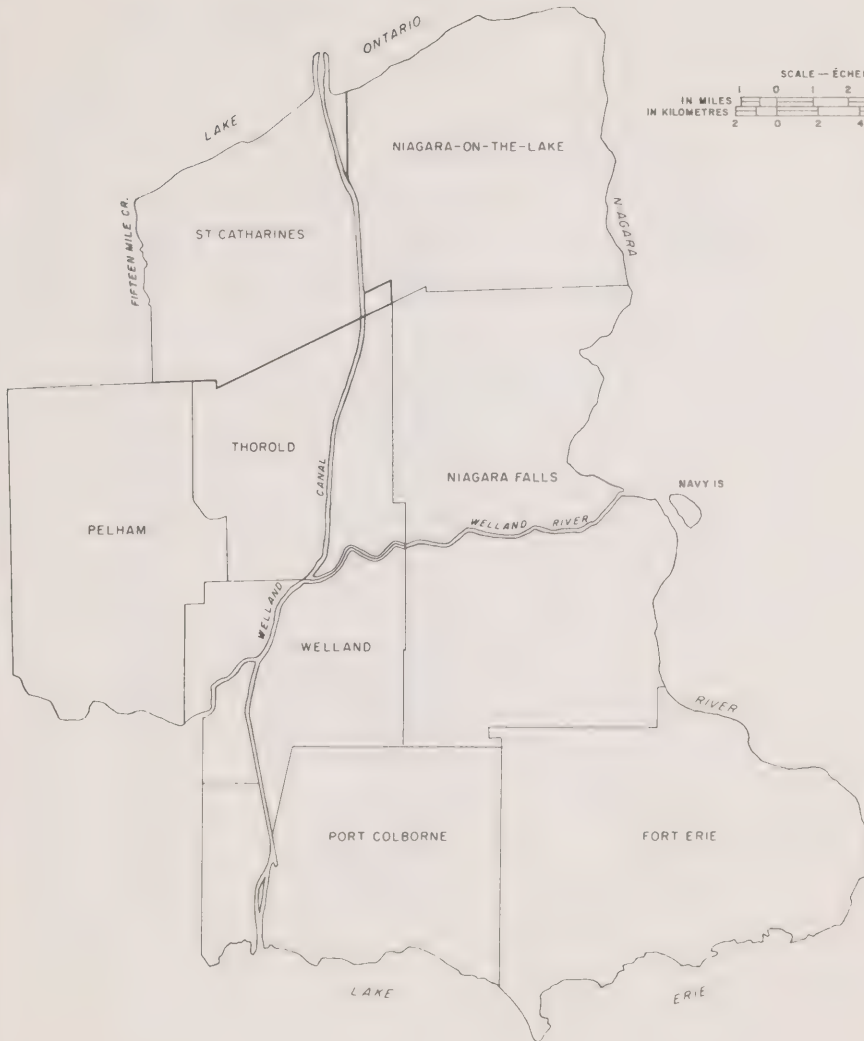
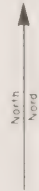
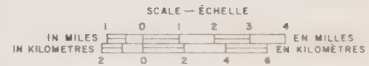
**ST. CATHARINES—
NIAGARA, ONT.**

Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking French Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
ST. CATHARINES—			
NIAGARA, ONT.	303,435	10,720	3.5
Niagara, (Part)			
St. Catharines, C.....	109,780	2,045	
Niagara Falls, C.....	67,160	1,060	
Fort Erie, T.....	23,105	125	
Niagara-on-the-Lake, T.....	12,550	105	
Pelham, T.....	10,005	120	
Port Colborne, C.....	21,405	1,150	
Thorold, T.....	15,045	215	
Welland, C.....	44,390	5,895	

LEGEND-LÉGENDE

CENSUS SUBDIVISION — SUBDIVISION DE RECENSEMENT

LARGEST CITY — VILLE PRINCIPALE



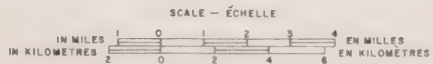
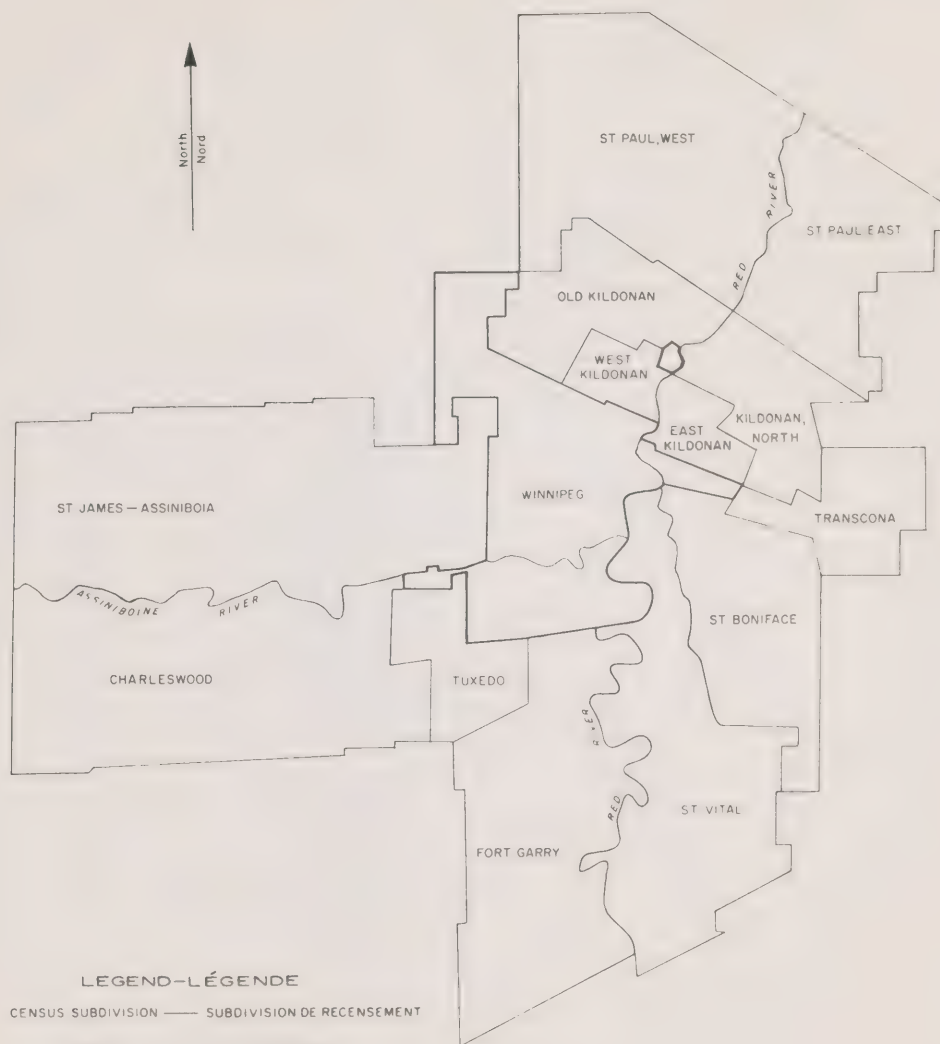
TORONTO, ONT.

Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking French Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
TORONTO, ONT.....	2,628,125	20,580	0.8
Toronto.....	2,086,015	17,325	
Toronto, C.....	713,130	7,350	
Etobicoke, B.....	282,740	1,875	
Scarborough, B.....	334,485	2,215	
York, B.....	147,275	915	
York, East, B.....	104,645	770	
York, North, B.....	503,740	4,200	
Halton (Part).....	100,015	920	
Acton, T.....	5,040	15	
Esquesing, TWP.....	9,415	130	
Georgetown, T.....	17,050	365	
Milton, T.....	7,025	15	
Oakville, T.....	61,485	390	
Ontario (Part).....	46,790	345	
Ajax, T.....	12,540	85	
Pickering, TWP.....	31,735	260	
Pickering, Vill.....	2,515	5	
Peel (Part).....	253,645	1,585	
Albion, TWP.....	4,715	60	
Bolton, Vill.....	3,015	10	
Brampton, T.....	41,205	255	
Chinguacousy, TWP.....	30,960	125	
Mississauga, T.....	156,085	1,050	
Port Credit, T.....	9,440	75	
Streetsville, T.....	6,840	15	
Toronto Gore, TWP.....	1,390	—	
York (Part).....	141,660	400	
Aurora, T.....	13,600	20	
King, TWP.....	12,865	5	
Markham, T.....	36,685	110	
Newmarket, T.....	18,935	45	
Richmond Hill, T.....	32,415	130	
Vaughan, T.....	15,895	65	
Whitchurch-Stouffville, T.....	11,265	20	



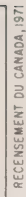
WINNIPEG, MAN.

Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking French Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
WINNIPEG, MAN.....	540,265	17,655	3.3
Division No. 20			
Winnipeg, C.....	246,275	2,440	
Charleswood, Mun.....	12,185	55	
East Kildonan, C.....	30,150	150	
Fort Garry, Mun.....	26,135	1,100	
Kildonan, North, Mun.....	17,720	35	
Old Kildonan, Mun.....	1,865	5	
St. Boniface, C.....	46,750	10,735	
St. James-Assiniboia, C.....	71,385	645	
St. Paul, East, Mun.....	2,590	5	
St. Paul, West, Mun.....	2,455	—	
St. Vital, C.....	32,940	2,055	
Transcona, C.....	22,475	400	
Tuxedo, T.....	3,260	—	
West Kildonan, C.....	24,085	35	



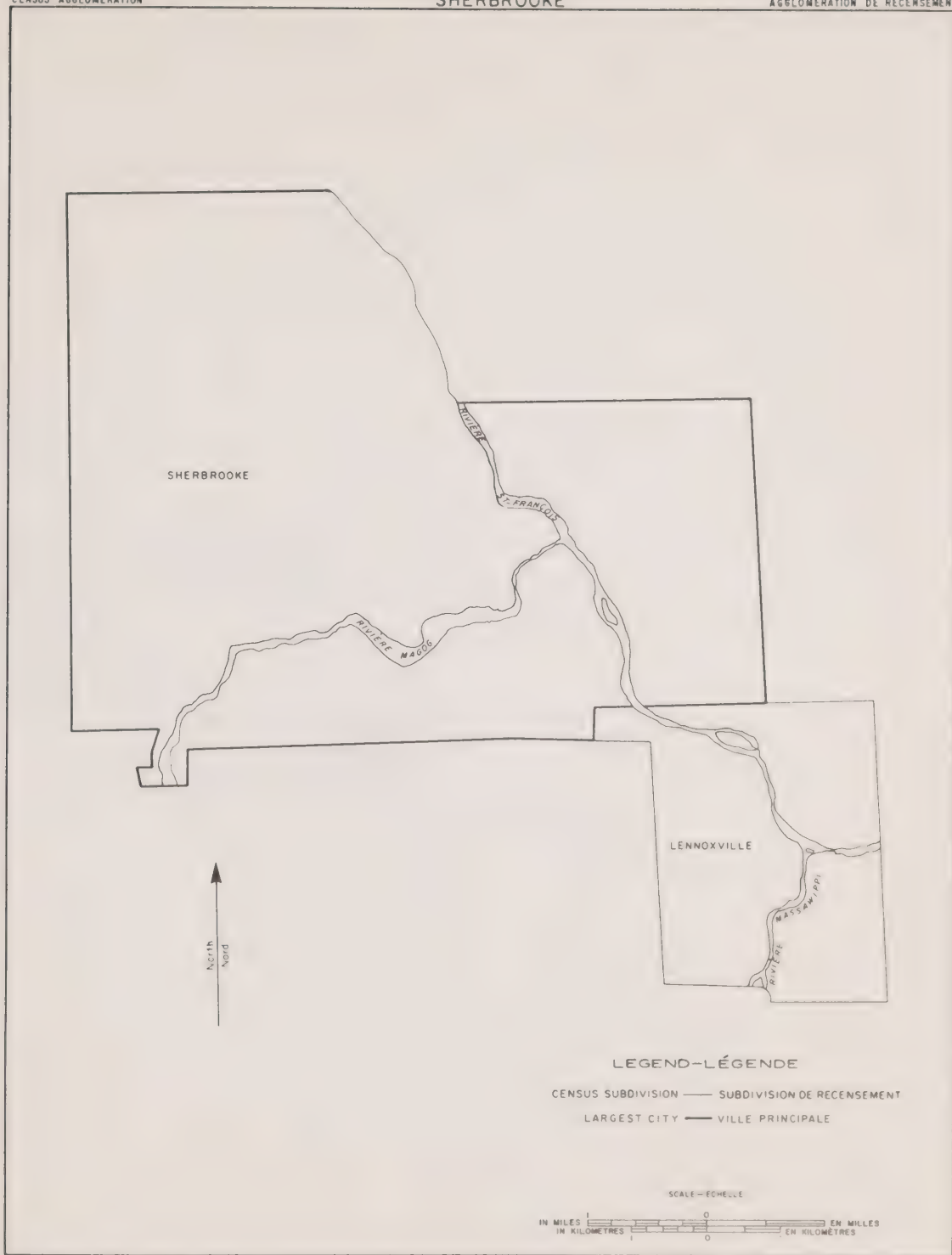
VANCOUVER, B.C.

Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking French Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
VANCOUVER, B.C.	1,082,350	6,000	0.6
Greater Vancouver.....	1,028,335	5,820	
Vancouver, C.....	426,270	2,380	
Burnaby, Mun.....	125,655	345	
Coquitlam, Mun.....	53,135	1,445	
Delta, Mun.....	45,780	155	
Fraser Mills, Mun.....	130	—	
Lion's Bay, Vill.....	370	5	
New Westminster, C.....	42,895	335	
North Vancouver, Mun.....	57,940	185	
North Vancouver, C.....	31,860	135	
Port Coquitlam, C.....	19,560	90	
Port Moody, C.....	10,775	30	
Richmond, Mun.....	62,115	155	
Surrey, Mun.....	98,565	400	
University Endowment Area.....	3,535	35	
West Vancouver, Mun.....	36,465	50	
White Rock, C.....	10,350	90	
Subdivision A.....	1,345	—	
Indian Reserves.....	1,605	—	
Dewdney-Alouette (Part).....	27,355	120	
Maple Ridge, Mun.....	24,530	120	
Pitt Meadows, Mun.....	2,720	—	
Indian Reserves.....	100	—	
Central Fraser Valley (Part).....	26,665	60	
Langley, Mun.....	21,930	45	
Langley, C.....	4,680	20	
Indian Reserves.....	60	—	



SHERBROOKE, QUE.

Census Agglomeration of	Total pop.	Speaking English Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
SHERBROOKE, QUE.....	84,600	9,170	10.8
Sherbrooke (Part)			
Sherbrooke, C.....	80,730	6,260	
Lennoxville, T.....	3,870	2,915	



(2) Provincial Capitals

CHARLOTTETOWN, P.E.I.

Census Agglomeration of	Total pop.	Speaking French Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
Charlottetown, P.E.I.....	25,290	90	0.4
Queens (Part)			
Charlottetown, C.....	19,145	60	
Parkdale, Vill.....	2,345	5	
Sherwood, Vill.....	3,795	25	

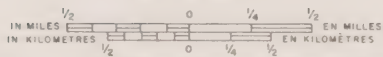


LEGEND—LÉGENDE

CENSUS SUBDIVISION — SUBDIVISION DE RECENSEMENT

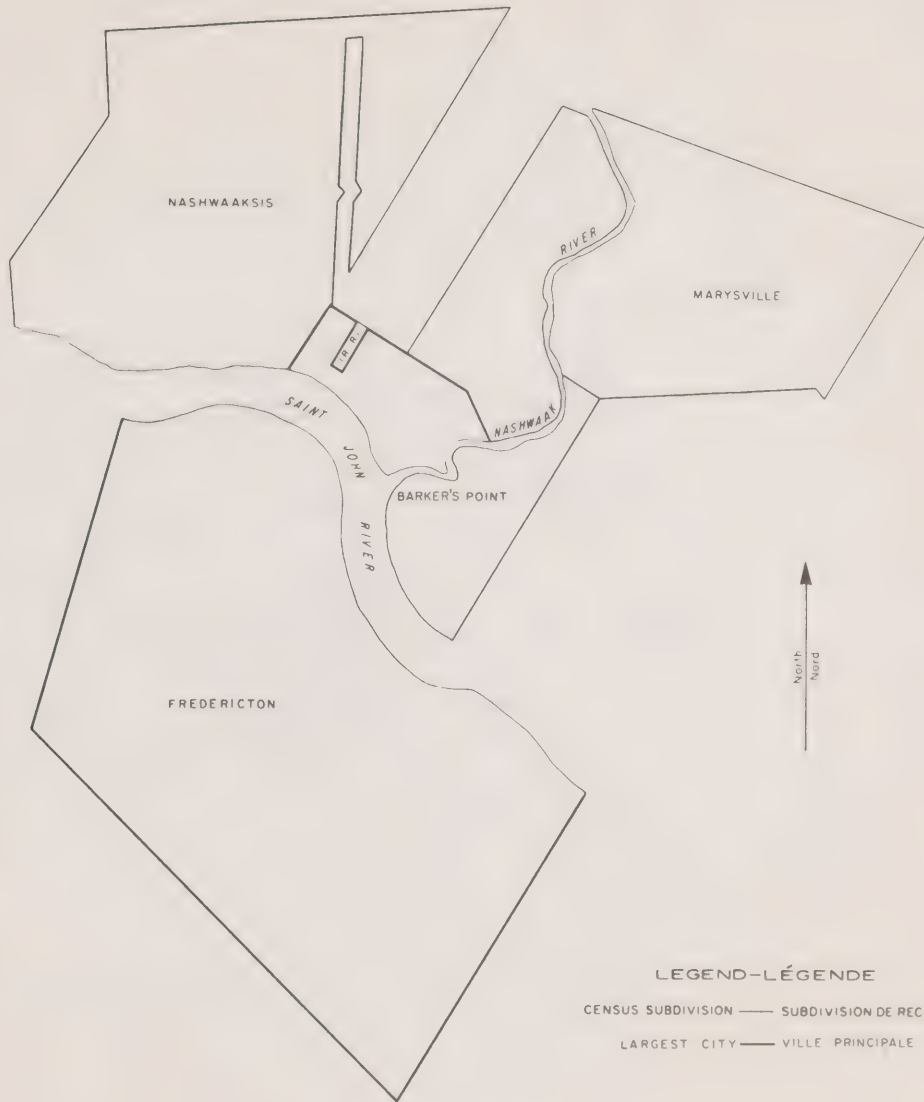
LARGEST CITY — VILLE PRINCIPALE

SCALE — ÉCHELLE



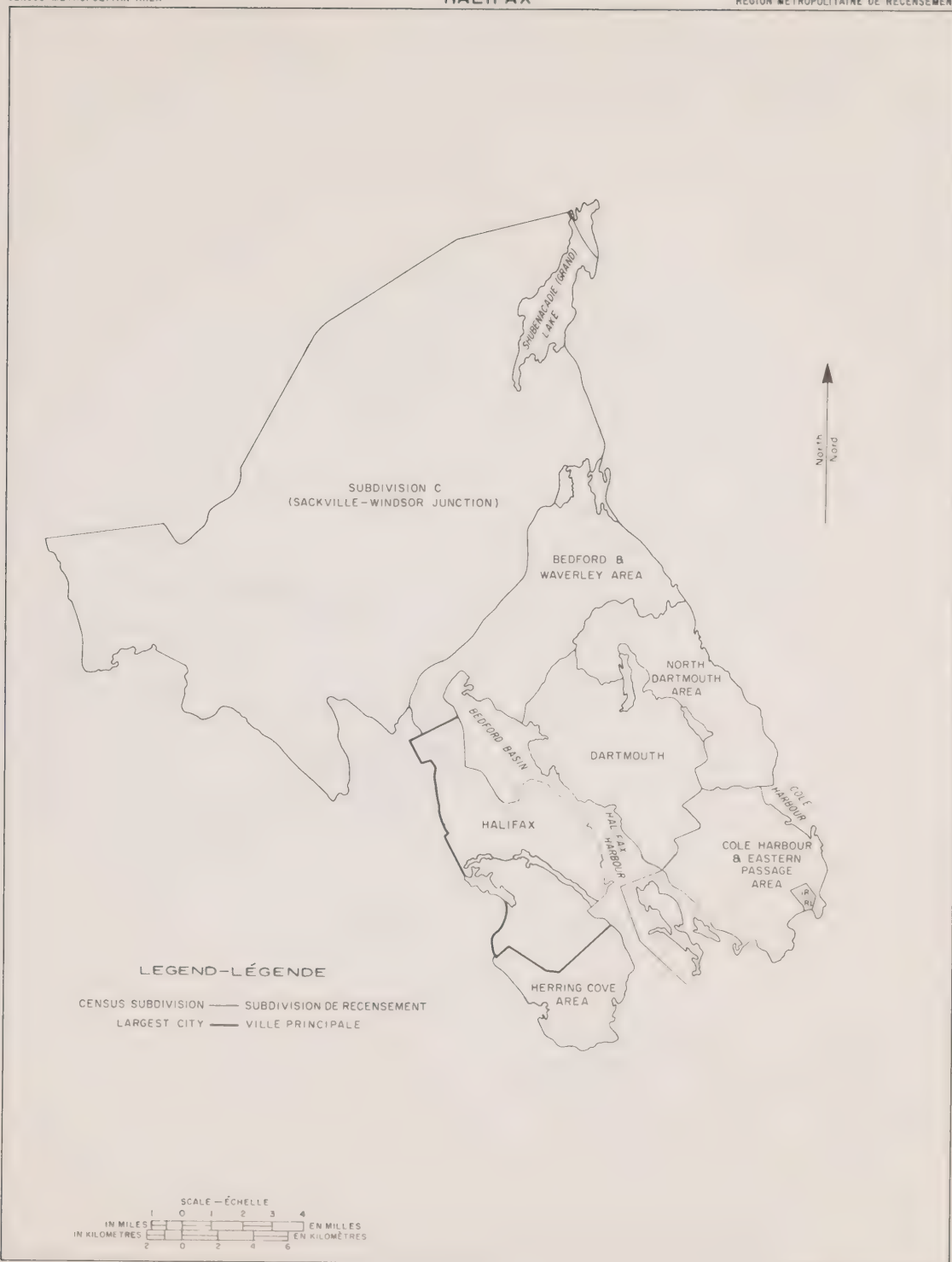
FREDERICTON, N.B.

Census Agglomeration of	Total pop.	Speaking French Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
FREDERICTON, N.B.	37,745	1,050	2.8
York (Part)			
Fredericton, C.....	24,315	725	
Baker's Point, Vill.....	1,835	5	
Marysville, T.....	3,905	105	
Nashwaaksis, Vill.....	7,320	215	
Indian Reserves.....	370	—	



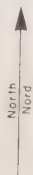
HALIFAX, N.S.

Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking French Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
HALIFAX, N.S.	220,650	2,655	1.2
Halifax, (Part)			
Halifax, C.	122,035	1,735	
Dartmouth, C.	64,785	645	
Halifax, Mun. (Part)	35,835	270	
Bedford & Waverley Area.....	6,080	30	
Cole Harbour and Eastern Passage Area	7,450	55	
Herring Cove Area.....	1,575	—	
North Dartmouth Area.....	3,890	60	
Sackville-Windsor Junction....	16,840	125	



REGINA, SASK.

Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking French Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
REGINA, SASK.	140,675	585	0.4
Division No. 6 (Part)			
Regina, C.....	139,435	585	
159. Sherwood, Mun.....	1,240	—	

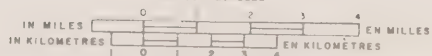


LEGEND—LÉGENDE

CENSUS SUBDIVISION — SUBDIVISION DE RECENSEMENT

LARGEST CITY — VILLE PRINCIPALE

SCALE—ÉCHELLE

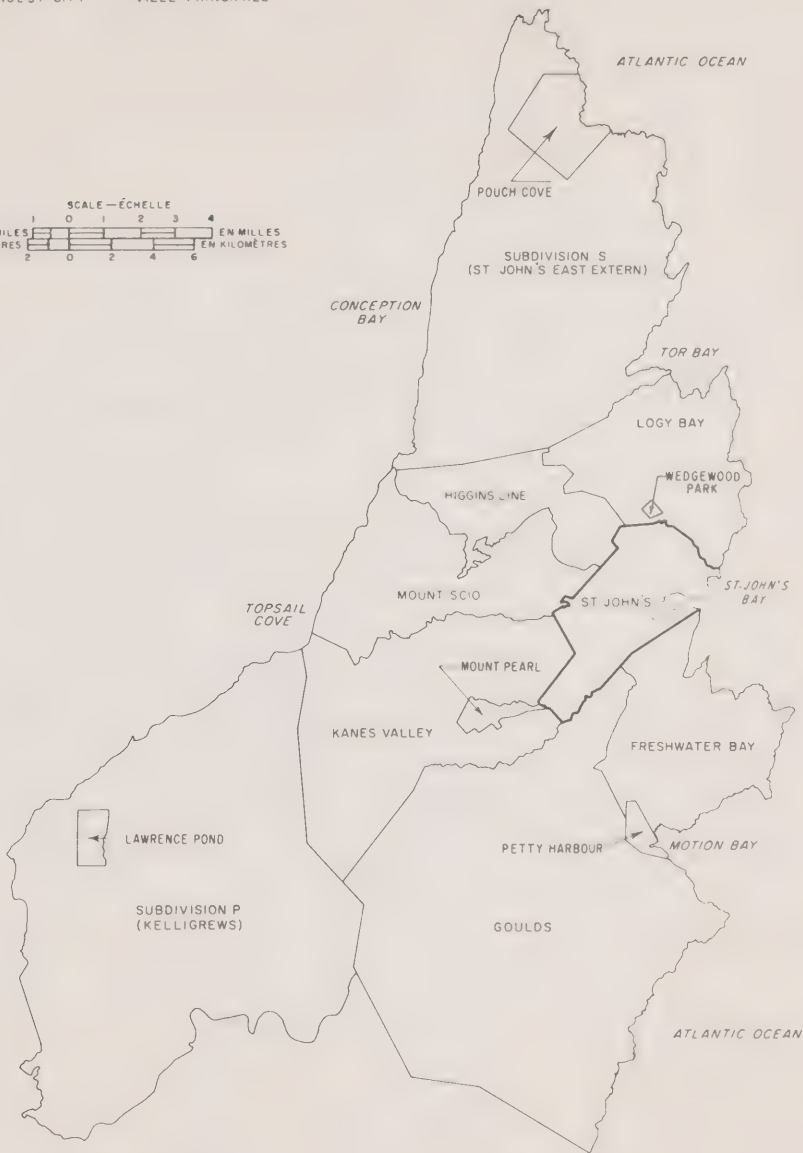
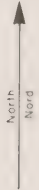
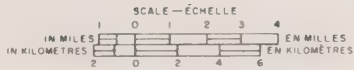


ST. JOHN'S, NFLD.

Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking French Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
ST. JOHN'S, NFLD.	132,005	150	0.1
Division No. 1 (Part)			
St. John's, C.....	88,110	125	
Mount Pearl, T.....	7,330	—	
Petty Harbour, L.I.D.....	995	—	
Pouch Cove, T.....	1,520	—	
St. John's Area.....	18,980	20	
Freshwater Bay.....	1,890	—	
Goulds.....	4,625	5	
Higgins Line.....	2,730	5	
Kanes Valley.....	3,540	10	
Logy Bay.....	2,725	—	
Mount Scio.....	3,475	—	
Wedgewood Park, L.I.D.....	430	—	
Unorganized.....	14,640	—	
Subdivision P (Kelligrews).....	9,820	—	
Subdivision S (St. John's East Extern).....	4,820	—	

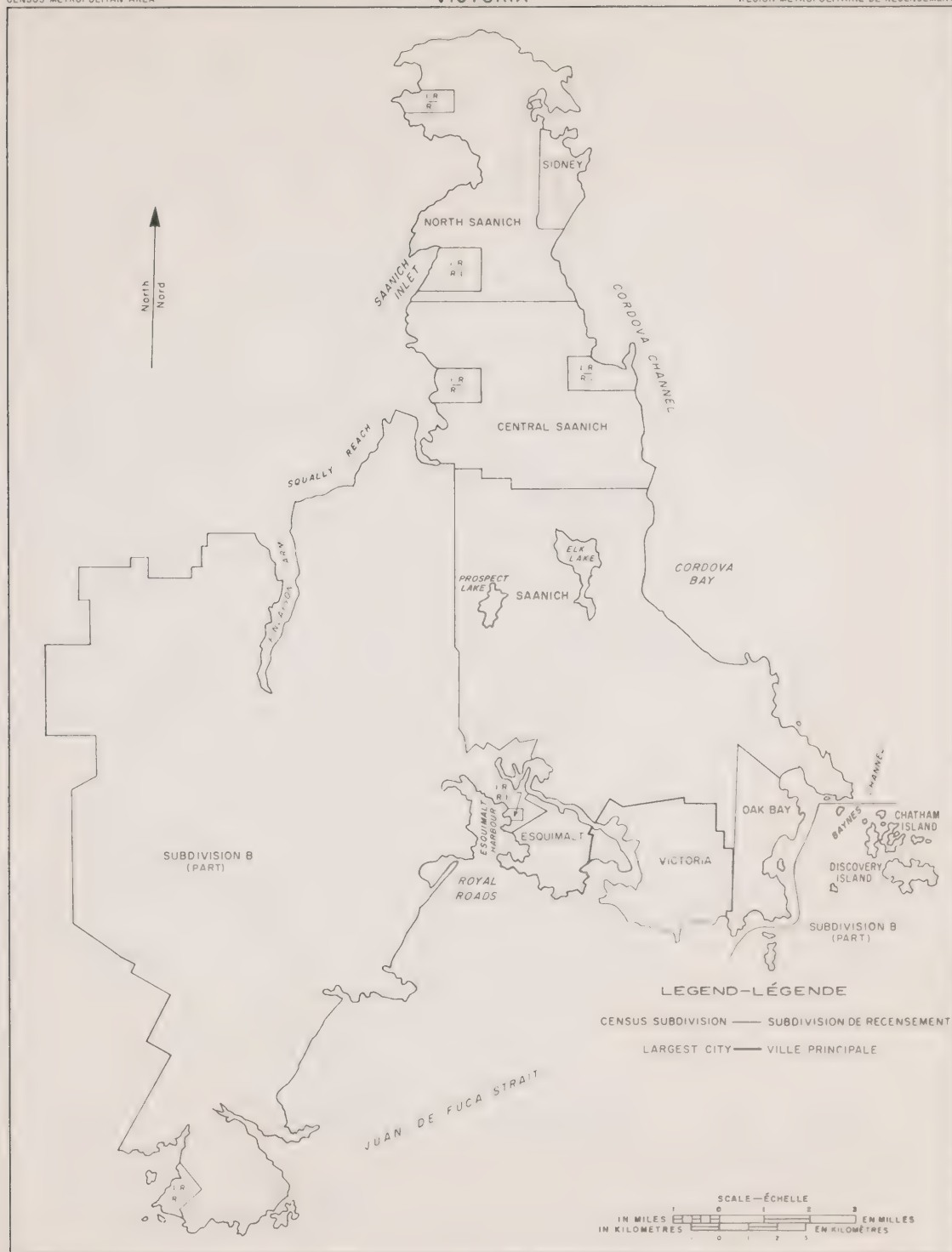
LEGEND—LÉGENDE

CENSUS SUBDIVISION — SUBDIVISION DE RECENSEMENT
 LARGEST CITY — VILLE PRINCIPALE



VICTORIA, B.C.

Census Metropolitan Area of	Total pop.	Speaking French Most Often at Home	
		Number	Percentage
VICTORIA, B.C.	195,845	560	0.3
Capital (Part)			
Victoria, C.....	61,740	165	
Central Saanich, Mun.....	5,215	10	
Esquimalt, Mun.....	12,935	100	
North Saanich, Mun.....	3,600	—	
Oak Bay, Mun.....	18,425	40	
Saanich, Mun.....	65,030	130	
Sidney, T.....	4,870	30	
Subdivision B.....	22,965	85	
Indian Reserves.....	1,070	5	



ALL OF WHICH WE RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT FOR YOUR EXCELLENCY'S CONSIDERATION,

Paul Fox

Paul Fox, *Chairman*

M. Jane Carrothers

M. Jane Carrothers

W. Harry Hickman

W. Harry Hickman

Léopold Lamontagne

Léopold Lamontagne

W. Mackey

W. Mackey

Yvonne R. Raymond

Yvonne R. Raymond

Albert Regimbal, S.J.

Albert Regimbal, s.j.

Adélarde Savoie

Adélarde Savoie

PART IV
MINORITY STATEMENTS AND REPORTS

Minority Statement

W. Harry Hickman

Although willing to sign the report of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board because I am generally in favour of its proposals, I beg to submit a minority statement with respect to one recommendation (Part III, paragraph 1158) dealing with the census metropolitan area of Montreal.

Before instituting the recommendation that Montreal be included among the major cities under Section 9 (2) of the Act, I suggest that the government consider the possibility of designating the census metropolitan area of Montreal a bilingual district. Montreal is very different from Canada's other large cities. It is a bilingual area; indeed, to many people it is the very symbol of Canadian bilingualism. The English mother tongue minority group consists of 595,395 persons who comprise 21.7 per cent of the total population.

Following the prescriptions of the Act, the Board has, in every case where over ten per cent of the official language minority would make a viable entity, recommended that such an area be proclaimed a bilingual district. It would therefore seem unjust and discriminatory to treat the large minority group in the census metropolitan area of Montreal in a different way, especially since that group comprises not only over ten per cent but over 20 per cent of the total population. Indeed, it should be noted that, according to 1971 statistics, the percentage of English home language persons reaches 24.9 per cent, or one quarter of the total population of the census metropolitan area of Montreal.

We were told that creating a bilingual district of Montreal would change nothing since the English population has always in the past received federal services in English. This fact does not guarantee by law such a right in the future. One day, one could imagine a French-speaking employee of the federal service in

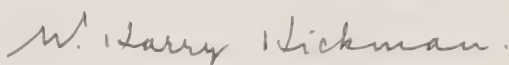
Montreal saying in French to an English-speaking Montrealer: "I was appointed to a unilingual post; I am not paid to give services in English. Besides, in the province of Quebec, there is only one official language. And, after all, Montreal has not been designated as a bilingual district."

We were told that, if Montreal were created a bilingual district, there would be dissension. Yet the Board has not hesitated to recommend other areas where it was warned of possible dissension.

If Montreal were to be governed by Section 9 (2), then perhaps all other "bilingual" areas of Canada should be treated likewise. The Board decided against such a proposal for the reasons stated in Part I, paragraphs 152-162. If 9 (2) might be too loosely interpreted for other areas, so it might be inadequate for Montreal.

However, if Section 9 (2) is considered an adequate guarantee of bilingual services in Montreal, and in other large cities, and in all capital cities, perhaps Section 9 (1) should be abandoned and all appropriate areas in the country be served under Section 9 (2). This would avoid both the use of the term "bilingual districts" and also the drawing of definite geographic and linguistic lines around specific areas.

In summary, I simply wish to state that I disagreed with the Board's decision on the question of Montreal and that I respectfully urge the government to consider the possible injustices and discriminations that might arise if the very large minority in Montreal were not afforded, by law, the same rights and privileges as the official language minorities in other parts of Canada.



W. HARRY HICKMAN

Minority Statement

Adélaré Savoie

1. Having read the report which has been signed by a majority of the members of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, I also perused the minority report submitted by Mr. Justice A. M. Monnin as well as the minority statement prepared by Dr. Harry Hickman.

2. As my two colleagues do, I strongly disagree with certain recommendations contained in the majority report and I cannot accept the reasons or the arguments which have been advanced in their support. On the other hand, I favour most of the recommendations of the majority report insofar as they advocate the establishment of bilingual districts in the nine Canadian provinces where it is possible to do so.

3. Bilingual districts are really important in my view and I consider that they can be very useful to the official language minorities across the country. I therefore elected to sign the majority report in order to make my position clear with respect to its overall content. Concerning those recommendations which I do not accept as well as the arguments pertaining to them, I deemed it sufficient to register my dissent by way of a minority statement.

4. My objections are substantially identical to those of my colleagues Hickman and Monnin and I could easily subscribe to their respective declarations. I therefore find it difficult to outline my position without repeating much of what they have said. Consequently, I will only state my views on some of the reasons which have been given for the recommendations which I do not support.

5. As far as I know, the recommendations of a minority report are seldom implemented. I do not therefore intend to formulate any recommendation at the end of this statement. Should my opinion be needed on any of the matters at issue, I repeat that I willingly endorse the recommendations which have been put forward by Messrs. Hickman and Monnin.

6. The Bilingual Districts Advisory Board has been appointed with a specific mandate under the Official Languages Act of Canada. In accepting membership on that Board, I agreed to work towards the implementation of that mandate according to the legislation that had been enacted by the Parliament of Canada. My role was not to interpret that law in the light of my personal preferences, nor to twist it for what it did not contain, nor to apply it differently in different parts

of the country for reasons of my own. If the law needs to be improved, it is up to the people's elected members to amend it; not to civil servants nor to advisory boards like ours.

7. The full text of the law can be found in one of the report's appendices as well as a lengthy discussion of its content in the report itself. I do not wish to repeat it, except to say that the law has set out one major rule to govern the establishment of federal bilingual districts and that rule is compulsory. An area may be established as a bilingual district if both of the official languages are spoken as a mother tongue by persons residing in the area and the number of persons who are in the official language minority amount to at least ten per cent of the total population of that area. One can therefore appreciate the importance which Parliament has given to this "ten per cent" rule. Furthermore, the law has defined "mother tongue" as the language first learned in childhood and still understood.

8. The object of this statement will be the census metropolitan area of Montreal for which a majority of Board members did not recommend a bilingual district, but rather urged the federal government to provide its services to it in both official languages, to the extent it is possible, under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Official Languages Act.

Basic Criteria

9. During its travels across Canada for the purpose of identifying areas capable of becoming bilingual districts, the Board almost invariably took into consideration the following questions: a) has the official language minority ten per cent of the total population of the proposed area; b) is this minority sufficiently numerous to justify the recommendation of a bilingual district; c) is this minority viable culturally and linguistically?

10. The first question was obviously essential due to the requirements of the Act. In the second case, it was only reasonable to ensure that the official minority had a sufficient number of people before making a positive recommendation. Using the discretion which the Act permitted, the Board has many times refrained from recommending bilingual districts for areas in which the official language minority numbered but a few dozen or even a few hundred people. Finally, the Board wanted to satisfy itself that the linguistic minority showed some signs of cultural activity and some determination to function in its own language. Other factors might also be considered, such as the presence of federal offices, the existence of a certain bilingual tradition, etc.

Census Metropolitan Area of Montreal

11. Given a positive response to the above questions, the Board has recommended the establishment of bilingual districts in practically every part of Canada, except in Montreal and a few other regions in the province of Quebec. Let us look at Montreal. According to the 1971 census, the census metropolitan area of Montreal had 595,395 persons of English mother tongue, or 21.7 per cent of the total population. In comparison, the province of Ontario had a Francophone minority of 482,045, or 6.3 per cent of the overall population, while the province of New Brunswick came third with 215,730 Francophones and a proportion of 34.0 per cent.

12. In all of Canada, the census metropolitan area of Montreal has the largest linguistic minority speaking an official language. There cannot be any question as to its numerical importance. Moreover, this minority accounts for 21.7 per cent of the total population, more than double the minimum required by the Act. The viability of this minority as well as the richness of its cultural life are also beyond question. There is in Montreal a heavy concentration of federal offices. It also enjoys a long tradition of bilingualism. In summary, this area presented all the conditions, in the superlative degree, to justify the recommendation of a bilingual district. Nevertheless, a majority of the Board decided otherwise. Let us examine some of the arguments put forward.

Sections 9(1) and 9(2)

13. One of the main arguments concerned the interpretation given to subsections (1) and (2) of Section 9 of the Act and the function allotted to subsection (2) as well as to Section 10. Section 10 aims to provide or make available federal services to the travelling public in the two official languages, as long as there is a significant demand. It is therefore not related to the concept of a bilingual district, except by accident.

14. Subsection (1) of Section 9 provides that every agency of the federal government has the duty to ensure that members of the public can obtain available services from and can communicate with it in both official languages

- a) within the National Capital Region,
- b) at the place of its head or central office, in Canada, if outside the National Capital Region, and
- c) at each of its principal offices in a federal bilingual district established under this Act.

15. The import of this subsection is therefore clear with respect to bilingual districts. Every department and agency of the government of Canada and every judicial, quasi-judicial or administrative body or Crown corporation established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada has the duty to ensure that, at each of its principal offices in a federal bilingual district, members of the public can obtain available services from and can communicate with it in both official languages. The government is charged with a specific duty. Barring the ambiguity of the expression "principal offices" which has been fully discussed in the report, this obligation is mandatory and is not diminished by any condition nor subterfuge. By virtue of this subsection, any bilingual district, once established, has the benefit of a really new dimension in the field of bilingualism and is entitled to a special protection with respect to the implementation of this bilingualism in the provision of federal services. And this is all the more important in that a bilingual district, once established, cannot be abolished, although its boundaries can be modified.

16. Subsection (2) of Section 9 provides that every agency of the federal government has the duty to ensure that, in addition to but without derogating from the duty imposed upon it by subsection (1), members of the public in locations other than those referred to in that subsection (consequently, outside of federal bilingual districts) can obtain available services from and can communicate with it in both official languages

- a) to the extent that it is feasible for it to do so, and
- b) where there is a significant demand therefor by members of the public.

17. It should be noted first of all that this provision has been in force for the last six years, more specifically since July 9, 1969 when the Act was assented to, and our Board has nothing to do with its implementation. To a certain degree, this subsection has already stood the test of time and one can already measure its worth and its effectiveness.

18. On the other hand, it is obvious that this subsection is far from having the same reach as subsection (1) since all government agencies have the duty to make their services available in the two official languages *only to the extent that it is feasible for them to do so* and provided that *there be a significant demand therefor* by members of the public. Those are two substantial dampers. And they can be that much more of an impediment because the aforesaid concepts have not been

defined and the final implementation will be left to the discretion of civil servants.

19. Indeed, they are the ones who will judge whether it is feasible to make services available in the two official languages and whether there is a significant demand from members of the public. Depending on their personal outlook, they may or may not be favourably disposed towards the other official language. An antagonistic civil servant may find scores of reasons to establish that it is impossible to provide services to the public in the two official languages. And this type of resistance is extremely hard to overcome.

20. And what about significant demand? For one individual, five per cent of the total requests may represent a significant demand whereas twenty or thirty per cent may be considered insufficient by another. In other words, the implementation of the law is left, to a large degree, to the discretion of given individuals. And when the linguistic rights of a minority are at stake, such a situation appears to be precarious, inadequate and void of guarantees.

21. Subsection 9(2) stems from good intentions. By incorporating it into the Act, the legislators have skillfully attempted to provide services in the two official languages in as many places as possible outside the National Capital Region and bilingual districts. In view of the fact that those places would, in all probability, have relatively small minorities, it was necessary to take precautions so that the federal government would not be unduly burdened in matters of bilingualism.

22. When it is incumbent to provide services to an official language minority in its own language, subsection 9(2) is in no way a valid substitute for subsection 9(1), in my view. At best, it can be considered as a make-shift arrangement, devised to take care of marginal situations and to ensure the provision of services in areas where the official language minority is under ten per cent of the total population.

23. The Board itself has deliberated at great length over the scope of subsections 9(1) and 9(2) and it has recorded its findings in no uncertain terms. Paragraph 154 of the report states: "Clearly, Section 9(2) is meant to be supplementary to 9(1) . . ." And at paragraph 157, one reads: "Since this action had not yet been taken, we felt that it would be inadvisable to leave the provision of bilingual services solely to Section 9(2) and the discretion of civil servants." At paragraph 158: "... we did not believe that Section 9(2) could replace entirely Section 9(1) . . . However, we did foresee that Section 9(2) could be used on occa-

sion either as an alternative to Section 9(1) or as a supplement to it, . . ." Finally, at paragraph 162: "If bilingual services can be provided satisfactorily under Section 9(2) alone, the problem of supplying such services adequately throughout Canada should already have been solved since Section 9(2) has been in existence ever since the Act went into force in 1969."

24. Nevertheless, the fate of the large official language minority of the census metropolitan area of Montreal has been left to the hazards of subsection 9(2). And in all good conscience, the report states at paragraph 721: "Indeed, it is conceivable that our supplementary recommendation would provide a more ample supply of bilingual services than would be furnished by a bilingual district." As if, suddenly, subsection 9(2) of the Act would be preferable to subsection 9(1) as an option of bilingual services. For the above-mentioned reasons, I disagree.

25. As a matter of fact, if the Board had recommended that bilingual services be provided to the census metropolitan area of Montreal through a bilingual district, it would have proposed for that area something which it does not have at the moment, namely the guarantee, with legislative endorsement, that the federal government has the duty to provide those services, at least in its principal offices, as long as the said bilingual district endures with its present attributes.

26. In recommending that bilingual services be provided under subsection 9(2), the Board gives nothing to Montreal; or, more specifically it offers something which Montreal already enjoys as of right, since subsection 9(2) of the Act has been in force, and for every one, since 1969. Such a recommendation amounts to nothing more than to urge the federal government to implement, if needed, a portion of a law already enacted by Parliament. And let it be stated once more, this subsection of the Act does not provide to language minorities in matters of bilingual services the same guarantees nor the same security as does subsection 9(1).

27. I do not contend that subsection 9(2) is useless. On the contrary, it has a very definite function to perform. And I have readily supported all the Board's recommendations aimed at the provision of bilingual services in large urban centres and in capital cities. But one can hardly assume that the federal government has appointed a Board like ours for the sole purpose of being reminded to implement one section of an Act which it has supported in Parliament. However, we could do no more for those large urban centres where

the official language minority did not constitute ten per cent of the population.

28. It was a different situation in those areas where the said minority exceeded the statutory ten per cent. In such cases, the Board had the clear possibility to recommend a bilingual district under subsection 9(1), which amounted, in my view, to a much better protection of the language rights of a minority. And when the rights of a minority are at stake, I am convinced that it should be afforded the best protection available.

29. For that reason, I maintain that the Board should not have discriminated against the Anglophone minority of the census area of metropolitan Montreal and should have recommended for that minority, as for the other official minority groups, the higher and better protection provided by subsection 9(1) rather than the palliative envisaged by subsection 9(2) of the Act.

Services Provided in the Past

30. According to another argument, frequently referred to by the majority of the Board members, it is not necessary to establish a bilingual district in the census metropolitan area of Montreal because in the past its official language minority has been provided with federal services in English and it will most probably continue to receive them likewise in the future.

31. A detailed examination of the Official Languages Act fails to reveal anywhere that the terms of reference of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board were to identify the places where federal services had been provided in the past in the two official languages and to predict where such services would be so provided in the future. This is another area where a majority of the Board members have taken liberties with the interpretation of the Act, with the ensuing consequences in the case of Montreal.

32. The Parliament of Canada having decided that it would be desirable to have bilingual districts in the country, the Act provides for the appointment of an Advisory Board whose function consists essentially to conduct an enquiry and to submit to the Governor in Council its findings, conclusions and recommendations, if any, concerning the establishment of bilingual districts or the alteration of the limits of any existing bilingual districts. And to perform that task, the Act does not set any rule with respect to the degree of bilingualism in the provision of federal services within a given area, but rather it stipulates that the official language minority must represent a minimum of ten per cent of the population within the said area.

33. And the Act does not command the Dominion Statistician to prepare a return of the services which are provided in one or the other of the official languages in the various regions or census districts in Canada, but rather a return showing the population of each of the provinces and census districts, categorized according to the official languages spoken as a mother tongue by persons resident therein. And the Clerk of the Privy Council is bound by law to send a copy of this return to the Chairman of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board forthwith upon its appointment. If one really insists on interpreting the Act, I suggest that those are pretty clear indications of what the legislators intended.

34. I do not blame the Board because it has investigated the situation with respect to the provision of federal services in the two official languages. Such information was useful in the work of the Board. My quarrel with it lies in the constraints which have been placed on the interpretation of the Act in order to infer from it a meaning which it does not have, in my view, and then reversing afterwards the order of values.

35. In the Montreal area, I submit that the prime consideration of the Board should have been the presence of more than one-half million persons of the official language minority answering all the main criteria which everywhere else had brought about a recommendation of bilingual districts. Instead, a majority of the Board chose to find that federal services had been available up to now in the language of the minority, that they would probably continue to be so available in the future and that, consequently, the official language minority would be deprived of the statutory protection inherent to the establishment of a bilingual district. To the best of my understanding, I can find nothing in the Act, nor in the principles governing it, to justify a decision with such far-reaching consequences.

36. I am also aware that the Anglophone minority of Montreal has been very well served in its own language by the federal government, in fact probably better than any other in Canada. It is my sincere hope that the federal government will find ways and means of providing to all official language minorities in the country bilingual services comparable to those enjoyed in the past by the Anglophone minority of Montreal. Be that as it may, in deciding to recommend, or not to recommend, a bilingual district in the census metropolitan area of Montreal, I maintain that the Board was not justified in considering as the prime question the provision of bilingual services.

37. The majority of Board members reached the conclusion that since federal services had been provided

in the past to the official minority in its own language, that would probably be so in the future. But how certain can they be of that assumption? The rights of a minority, whether in the field of language or in any other area, are never too well secured, even when they are protected by a law or even by the constitution. And it may be wishful thinking to assume that in such a sphere the past holds the key to the future and that tradition is law. Those who have learned through experience what are the problems of minorities usually know better.

38. The Acadian minority of New Brunswick is no exception and I may cite one case in point. Until 1871, this minority had enjoyed a school organization which was quite similar to the separate schools systems in effect in Quebec and Ontario. Even if the Parish Schools Act, enacted in 1854, made no provision for denominational schools, the Acadians had succeeded in developing schools, which, for all practical purposes, were Catholic and French, but which nevertheless qualified for provincial subsidies.

39. In 1871, the New Brunswick Legislature passed the Public Schools Act which stipulated that all schools falling under the jurisdiction of the department of education would henceforth be non-sectarian. Overnight, all religious symbols were banned from the schools. There followed deep conflicts of which the turning point was undoubtedly the Caraquet riot.

40. The validity of the new Act was tested before the courts. It was alleged that Section 93(1) of the British North America Act granted to the provinces the exclusive right to make laws pertaining to education, provided that "Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union." The appellants described the factual situation which had existed in the province for many years and pleaded several sections of the Parish Schools Act.

41. The Supreme Court of New Brunswick gave its judgment on June 17, 1873 (cf. *Ex parte Renaud*, New Brunswick Reports, Pugsley, Vol. 1, p. 273). The court established with great details that all denominational schools that might have existed prior to 1867 had no legal rights and were entitled to no protection from the law since the Parish Schools Act did not recognize any such schools. The Public Schools Act of 1871 was therefore ruled "intra vires" and the Acadian minority which, for many long years, had had the benefit of its own denominational schools, so-called, and undoubtedly felt confident that this situation

would continue during the years to come, was permanently deprived of the said schools.

42. This decision was appealed to the Privy Council of the House of Lords and the case was heard in July 1874. The judgment of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick was upheld. Thus, the Acadians learned through bitter experience, like many other minorities, that custom is a shaky foundation for the right of a people and that it can be dangerous to rely on it for the protection of one's rights and privileges. The Acadians of New Brunswick never had thereafter any separate schools as did the citizens of Quebec and Ontario who had had the foresight to ensure that prerogative through legislation. And it took them almost a century of persistent struggles to obtain a school system in line with their aspirations.

43. But even today, are there not in Canada some minority groups that have enjoyed definite language rights and privileges that were taken for granted over the years but which, recently, have been somewhat undermined or even threatened? Customs and precedents are no bulwark against the will of a majority bent on changing the status quo. And under such circumstances, minorities are much more secure when their rights are guaranteed by law or the constitution.

Services in the Language of the Minority

44. The majority of Board members frequently invoked another reason in support of their decision. It was this criterion which they took as a prime concern and by which they aimed to provide *by some means* federal services in their own language to all official language minority groups of reasonable size. This theme is of frequent recurrence in the report. In paragraph 225: "In taking this view, a majority of members were persuaded that it was more important to seek a greater measure of equality in the provision of bilingual services to both language minorities *by some method* than it was to recommend bilingual districts for each minority wherever districts were possible under the Act." In paragraph 239: "The decision of the majority of members was to attach the greatest importance to providing by some means federal services in their own language to all the official language minority groups of reasonable size." And in carrying this reasoning to its logical conclusion, it was stated that Montreal had "little need for the added protection that would be afforded by a bilingual district" and that "it would be superfluous to make such a recommendation."

45. Let there be no mistake about it. All Board members were in agreement, as far as I know, on the

proposition that federal services be provided in their own language to all official minority groups of reasonable size. But at this point, responsibilities should be allocated and duties well identified. It is incumbent upon the Canadian government, and not on our Board, to mete out federal services to the public in both official languages. This responsibility has never been entrusted to our Board, which is officially a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board and not an Advisory Board on the Provision of Bilingual Services. And it bears repeating that its "raison d'être" was first and foremost to conduct an enquiry and to recommend to the federal government the areas in Canada which qualified to become bilingual districts. That was the basic task of our Board.

46. But again the Act was twisted and interpreted in such a way as to displace the nucleus of the question. The provision of bilingual services was substituted for the establishment of bilingual districts. So, in investing the Board with this borrowed vocation, a majority of its members turned its primary end, namely the recommendation of bilingual districts, into a means, among others, which was dedicated to this new and all-important ideal, the provision of bilingual services to the official minorities of Canada.

47. In my view, that erroneous conception of the Board's basic objective was at the root of this reasoning which denied a bilingual district to the census metropolitan area of Montreal but proposed instead that it be provided with bilingual services by "other means", which it had, in any event, much prior to the appointment of our Board, namely Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Act.

Double Standards

48. This particular understanding of its role can also be credited with some of the Board's most surprising, if not contradictory, decisions. In fact, the majority of its members based their decisions on different criteria, depending on whether those decisions affected certain areas of Quebec or the nine other provinces. From this dichotomy sprang up unofficially a kind of double standard rule.

49. Thus, the census metropolitan area of Montreal was grouped with other large urban centres which are the object of a recommendation under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Act, despite the fact that it is the only such centre with an official language minority well in excess of the statutory ten per cent, while the official language minority in all other large urban centres is far below ten per cent.

50. In Newfoundland, the Board recommended the establishment of a bilingual district in Labrador West where the official language minority is 10.7 per cent, but on the other side of the provincial boundary, at Schefferville, where 965 Anglophones amounted to 29.5 per cent of the population, the majority of the Board decided against a bilingual district. It was again through a majority decision that the Board refused to include in a bilingual district the twin cities of Rouyn and Noranda, even though their 2,870 English-speaking citizens made up 10.1 per cent of the combined population. However, in Ontario, it was quite normal to group in one bilingual district the twin cities of Welland and Port Colborne where 9,355 Francophones accounted for 14.2 per cent of the population.

51. Sherbrooke county, including the city of Sherbrooke, had, in 1971, an English-speaking population of 11,130, or 11 per cent of the total. Of this number, the city of Sherbrooke claimed 6,120, or 7.6 per cent of its population of 80,710. According to the report's own admission, "we found that most major federal government offices were located in the city of Sherbrooke, which was the service centre not only for the county but apparently for most of the Eastern Townships." (Paragraph 660.) Everywhere in Canada, the Board made a special effort to include within a bilingual district the main distribution centre of federal services, whenever it was possible to do so. In Sherbrooke, it was different. The Board included in the proposed bilingual district of Huntingdon—Compton the rural census subdivision of Ascot and the town of Lennoxville. But then a majority voted to have the city of Sherbrooke included among the large urban centres for which the provision of bilingual services was recommended under Sections 9(2) and 10 of the Act.

52. However, in Ontario, the other standard applied. Sault Ste. Marie, with a Francophone population of 5.5 per cent, was included in the proposed bilingual district of Laurentian, because "the choice of the whole division would mean that Sault Ste. Marie was included in the bilingual district, and we regarded the inclusion of the city to be essential because it contained most of the significant federal offices in the census division." (Paragraph 818.)

53. The city of Thunder Bay (French-speaking population of 2.2 per cent) was incorporated in the proposed bilingual district of Laurentian. One of the reasons given, which I find excellent, is the following: "However, since many local federal offices and most of the regional offices in the territorial district were in

the city of Thunder Bay, it was essential to include the city if the proposal for bilingual services was to be meaningful. To have omitted the metropolitan centre and confined the bilingual district to the outlying census subdivisions would have achieved some improvement but have missed the major need." (Paragraph 840)

54. Two other examples. The city of Pembroke was made a part of the proposed bilingual district of Laurentian, because "the city of Pembroke, which was the largest urban centre in the county, contained 1,680 persons of French mother tongue and a number of federal offices." (Paragraph 853) For the same reason, the city of Windsor, with 14,305 Francophones making up 7.0 per cent of the population, is included in the proposed bilingual district of Windsor—Tilbury. Among the reasons given for that, let us quote the following: "Yet it seemed inconceivable to omit Windsor from a prospective bilingual district since it was the metropolitan centre in which most residents in the region obtained their federal services." (Paragraph 877) And the Board "decided that it was essential to include the city of Windsor within a potential bilingual district because so many federal local and regional offices were located there." (Paragraph 889)

55. In his minority report, Mr. Justice Monnin wondered whether the credibility of the Board might not be questioned on account of some of its recommendations. I share that concern. And should it so happen, I am convinced that the use of this double standard rule will have been a major contributing factor. I find it personally discriminatory and reprehensible. Its application is somewhat repugnant to the concept of fairness and equity in a country where all citizens should be equal before the law.

French Threatened in Quebec

56. Let us examine one last argument. The report alludes on several occasions, and with some seriousness, to an ominous peril which is seemingly threatening the French language in Quebec, a peril which would definitely be increased by the establishment of a bilingual district in Montreal. This opinion is well summarized in paragraph 236 of the report where it is stated that nearly all the Board members recognized that "the existence of the French language is in jeopardy in Quebec, and we were loath to augment the pressures upon it. We recognized that those pressures might be all the greater if the establishment of a bilingual district in Montreal promoted the diminution of French in this vital urban artery."

57. This is a statement of substance. If a people's language and culture are really threatened with extinction, it may be justified in taking extreme measures. However we should not be dealing with a bogey issue. Let us try to look at the facts.

58. Members of minority groups have long been accustomed to the pronouncements of various prophets of gloom who, every so often, predict their demise at an early date. It is almost a sport for anthropologists of every description to examine, analyse and diagnose them and then to conclude with authority that this or that minority is finished and that its days are numbered. They dissect feverishly every fresh issue of statistics, they record the losses that have been suffered here and there as well as the assimilation factor, and it seems at times that they are really annoyed with the endurance of certain minorities. This phenomenon is commonplace.

59. The novelty however is that Quebec is now listed among the critical cases. Thus, our report is echoing some of the comments heard in that regard when it mentions "a concern for the survival of the French language in Quebec" and the "threat to the survival of the French language in Quebec". It is stated that in Quebec "it is the French language which needs protection rather than English" and that "many persons of French mother tongue feel that functionally they belong to a minority". It is contended that the establishment of a bilingual district in Montreal "would encourage the use of English and thereby diminish the use of French which was already in danger" and that, generally speaking, it would "increase the danger to French which was already vulnerable". For others "the first concern was to preserve the French language in Montreal and that a bilingual district would be inimical to this objective". In any event, "its creation might well affect adversely the position of the French language in Montreal by increasing the pressure upon French".

60. However, it is surprising to note that the same people, in almost the same breath, also allege that a bilingual district in Montreal is not necessary and that its establishment would change nothing since the official minority is already supplied with federal services in its own language. It is difficult to understand the logic of such reasoning which on the one hand contends that something is unneeded because it would change nothing in the general situation and on the other hand that its advent might threaten the survival of the language and culture.

61. The thesis of "French in jeopardy in Quebec" can undoubtedly be traced to a definite political ideology. And this thesis is not without merit. French Canada cannot be said to be perfectly safe in the heart of North America. The report has made numerous references to that and there is no need for repetition. Any author sharing this view might easily write a book on the dangers which the Anglo-Saxon environment represents for the French language. And somebody else could well write another book maintaining that the major threat to the French language in Quebec does not originate from outside but is an internal one which can be traced to Quebecers themselves. Many Quebec intellectuals have denounced with great vigor the degradation to which the French language was subjected in Quebec in recent years by those who wanted to transform it into a sort of national dialect.

62. In my view, the thesis of "French in jeopardy in Quebec" is grounded on solid opinions which any one has the right to share without blame. It is not however a dogma to which should be sacrificed such basic principles as justice and equity. After all, Quebec has been in North America for a considerable length of time and it seems to be doing quite well. It has never been as sturdy, aggressive and enterprising in as many fields. If one were to list its cultural and artistic accomplishments in the last fifteen years, the summary would be most impressive.

63. For my part, I flatly refuse to insult Quebecers by telling them that they are on the eve of assimilation and are threatened with the loss of their language. Nothing is more difficult to eliminate than a minority having the will to live. And Quebec is no minority but a dynamic majority having control of the instruments for its growth and development, in the area of language as well as in others. The assimilation of Quebec would be nothing short of a massive capitulation by its people. And I refuse to believe that Quebecers are that kind of people.

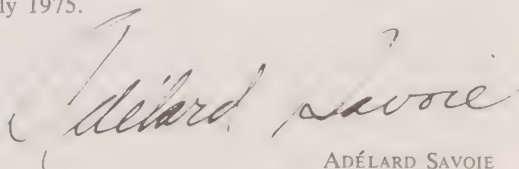
64. Inasmuch as the Board majority relied on that assumption to deny a bilingual district to the census metropolitan area of Montreal, I must dissent. I also reject as unacceptable the statement that "it would run counter to the intent of the Official Languages Act, which seeks equality of status between the two official languages, to increase the disparity between French and English by treating Montreal differently from the other large urban centres in Canada". (Paragraph 717) Such a statement is highly debatable. To refuse a bilingual district to the country's largest official language minority in the name of the Official Languages Act

appears to be the height of inconsistency and unworthy of a national Board.

65. I classify in the same category this other statement to the effect that "it was unacceptable to recommend a bilingual district in Montreal, the only metropolis in French-speaking Canada, when it was impossible, because of the lack of a minority amounting to at least ten per cent, to make a similar recommendation for any metropolis in English-speaking Canada". And again the intent of the Act is invoked to excuse such a stupendous omission. May I recall, one last time, that in order to recommend a bilingual district somewhere, the Official Languages Act does not envisage the necessity of having a parallel situation with the other official language minority. And if it is impossible to recommend a bilingual district in the census metropolitan area of Toronto, because its French minority is only 1.7 per cent of the population, I fail to see how this can be any kind of a justification and how the intent of the Act can be brought into play in denying a bilingual district in the census metropolitan area of Montreal, where the Anglophone minority is 21.7 per cent of the population. If such a line of reasoning had been taken to its logical conclusion, the Board would have abstained from recommending one single bilingual district anywhere in Canada for the simple reason that it was impossible to recommend one in British Columbia.

66. One could pursue the analysis of the other reasons advocated in support of the decision regarding Montreal and thus expose the other side of the coin. However, I think that I have said enough. Having failed to have my views accepted by the Board, I had no choice but to present them to the public that will be the judge of last resort. Being a member of an official minority group, I place a great deal of importance on the rights and prerogatives of minorities. If the Francophone minority to which I belong had been treated by the Board in the same manner as the Anglophone minority of Montreal, I would have raised the strongest possible protest. I do protest just as firmly for what has been done to the Anglophone minority of Montreal. As far as I am concerned, it is strictly a question of justice and equity.

Dated at Moncton, New Brunswick this 15th day of July 1975.


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ADÉLARD SAVOIE

Minority Report

Eleanor R. Duckworth

Introduction

My recommendations are based on some assumptions about the intentions of the Official Languages Act. The first is that the Act intended, in some sense, to accord equal status to the two official languages. This raises the further question, in just what sense are the two languages to have equal status? In my interpretation, it is that these are the two language settings in which individuals can enjoy a full range of activity in Canada. This means undertaking to assure that both English and French social settings give full possibilities for development to an individual who chooses either one of them. It means that, as a country, Canada will continue to develop equivalent institutional settings in both these languages.

The Act itself is, of course, much more limited than this. It legislates only the language rights of individuals in dealing with the federal government. But individual language rights have little meaning apart from a general language setting. There are hundreds of thousands of individuals in Canada whose language is neither English nor French and who thus have no federally guaranteed rights in their own language. But more important, *even if* these individuals had rights to deal with the federal government in their own languages, that would not mean that they would have full possibilities for development in their own languages, because it is not possible to assure them of institutions that would enable such full development. An individual's language right is tied to the possibility of participating in a full social setting in his/her own language. Without this possibility, it is meaningless to say that one has the right to use one's language.

Similarly, the federal government's guarantee to individual speakers of the two official languages would be meaningless unless the overall intention is to assure the maintenance and development of social settings where full participation is possible in English or French. One can choose to live in Canada in either one of the two languages.

On the other hand, the choice of language has some geographical limits. One cannot expect a full range of possibilities in English if one chooses to live in Rimouski, nor in French if one chooses to live in Victoria.

With the notion of bilingual districts, the Official Languages Act acknowledges this reality. The federal government will equip itself to provide services in both languages in its head offices, in the National Capital Region, and also in certain areas declared to be bilingual districts. The Act recognizes that outside these areas the country functions essentially in one or the other of the official languages, not in both, and therefore, outside these areas, the federal government does not undertake to function in both.

The question for us to decide is: in which areas is it in fact realistic for the country to try to function in both languages? These are the areas in which the federal government must be sure to offer its services in both languages.

I—Language Distribution and Use

A. General Considerations

As the majority report points out, there were three questions in the 1971 census related to the use of the official languages.

The one question which every Canadian answered is what was the "language first spoken and still understood?" This is referred to as the person's mother tongue. Note that the mother tongue may not be the language which the person uses most frequently. Indeed, he/she may no longer be able to speak it—simply understand it.

Two other questions were included in the long census questionnaire only, and were answered therefore only by one-third of the population. Projections have been made from this one-third sample, to arrive at appropriate figures for the whole population. These two questions were "What language do you most often speak at home now?" and "Can you speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?" (to be answered thus: "English only, French only, both English and French," or "neither English nor French.")¹

The majority report uses the figures from the first of these three—the mother tongue question—because this is the question to which the Official Languages Act refers; it is the question to which we must

¹ Explanatory note from instruction booklet for 1971 Census: "Do not report a language studied at school unless you can conduct a conversation in it. By this we mean being able to carry on a conversation of some length on various topics."

refer in assuring that a recommended bilingual district fulfills the minimal requirements of the law. However, mother tongue information is not the most useful in determining current language use; as I have indicated above, many people do not use their mother tongue, and many have very little knowledge of it. In general throughout my report, wherever my purpose is to convey the current language situation I shall refer to the other questions, and primarily to the language most often spoken at home. Only in my recommendations will the mother tongue figures be presented, to assure that the legal requirements are met.²

Tables I through III give a general idea of the proportions of the two languages, as of the date of the most recent census, June 1, 1971, and a rough idea of the relations among the three language-related questions. The central facts are that almost exactly one Canadian in four speaks French most often at home; something over two Canadians in three speak English most often at home. The ratio of English-speakers to French-speakers is about five to two. (Throughout this report, I use the terms "English-speakers" and "French-speakers" to mean "those who speak English most often at home", and "those who speak French most often at home" respectively—that is, the figures for the second of the census questions referred to previously. In actuality, outside the home, especially in places of work, the ratio of those speaking English to those speaking French would be higher).³

TABLE I

Population by Mother Tongue, Canada, 1971

English.....	12,973,810	(60.2%)
French.....	5,793,650	(26.9%)
Other.....	2,800,850	(13.0%)
Total.....	21,568,310	(100.0%)

* A footnote in the Volume I of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (p. 18, footnote 2) suggests, moreover, that ten per cent of the language spoken, rather than ten per cent of the mother tongue, should be the minimum criterion for a bilingual district. The Official Languages Act, also, refers to the "language spoken" by the minority. However, the mother tongue being the only language-related question for which there were census figures at the time, it was the only definition of "language spoken" available to the legislators, whether or not it defines what was intended.

* Brazeau, Jacques, and Carlos, Serge, «L'Utilisation du français dans le monde du travail du Québec», Étude E 3, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec*, Montreal, July 1973.

TABLE II

Population by Language Most Often Spoken at Home, Canada, 1971

English.....	14,446,235	(67.0%)
French.....	5,546,025	(25.7%)
Other.....	1,576,050	(7.3%)
Total.....	21,568,310	(100.0%)

TABLE III

Population by Official Language, Canada, 1971

English only.....	14,469,540	(67.1%)
French only.....	3,879,255	(18.0%)
Both.....	2,900,155	(13.4%)
Neither.....	319,360	(1.5%)
Total.....	21,568,310	(100.0%)

Limiting ourselves for the moment to figures for the language most often spoken at home, the following are the statistics province by province:

TABLE IV

Population by Language Most Often Spoken at Home, by Province, 1971

	Total	English	French	Other
Nfld.....	522,100	517,210	2,295	2,595
P.E.I.....	111,640	106,795	4,405	440
N.S.....	788,960	753,725	27,220	8,015
N.B.....	634,560	430,720	199,080	4,760
Que.....	6,027,765	887,875	4,870,105	269,785
Ont.....	7,703,105	6,558,060	352,465	792,580
Man.....	988,245	816,560	39,600	132,085
Sask.....	926,240	832,515	15,930	77,795
Alta.....	1,627,870	1,477,960	22,700	127,210
B.C.....	2,184,620	2,027,120	11,505	145,995

It is no secret where the greatest part of the French-speaking population is to be found. What is worth exploring, though, is how great a part of the French-speaking population is to be found in Quebec; what is the distribution of the French-speaking population outside Quebec, and what is the distribution of the English-speaking population inside Quebec?

B. The French-speaking population

First let us look at the distribution of French-speakers.

TABLE V

Distribution of Population Speaking French Most Often at Home, 1971

In Quebec.....	4,870,105
Outside Quebec.....	675,920
Total Canada.....	5,546,025

Of Canada's French-speakers, 87.8 per cent live in the province of Quebec.

We can also surmise—and Table IV confirms—that the bulk of the French-speakers who live outside Quebec live in the adjacent provinces of Ontario and New Brunswick. These figures are assembled in Table VI.

TABLE VI

Distribution of Population Speaking French Most Often at Home, 1971

In Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick....	5,421,650
In rest of country.....	124,375
Total Canada.....	5,546,025

97.8 per cent of Canada's French-speakers live in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick.

A still closer look at the census figures enables us to locate the French-speaking populations within Ontario and New Brunswick. Nine⁴ of Ontario's 54 census divisions account for 76.6 per cent of that province's French-speaking population (269,995 of 352,465). Seven⁵ of New Brunswick's 15 counties account for 96.3 per cent of New Brunswick's French-speaking population (191,760 of 199,085). Table VII then presents a more incisive picture.⁶

⁴ Cochrane, Glengarry, Nipissing, Ottawa-Carleton, Prescott, Russell, Stormont, Sudbury, Timiskaming.

⁵ Gloucester, Kent, Madawaska, Northumberland, Restigouche, Victoria, Westmorland.

⁶ Similarly, when we look more closely at the figures for Newfoundland, we see that although the absolute number of French-speakers is very low, the heaviest concentration is in census subdivision D—West Labrador, which borders Quebec on the east (1,180 of 2,295).

TABLE VII

Distribution of Population Speaking French Most Often at Home, 1971

In Quebec and adjacent counties of Ontario and New Brunswick.....	5,331,855
In rest of country.....	214,170
Total Canada.....	5,546,025

Tables VI and VII concern themselves only with the distribution of those who speak French most often at home; they suggest that the overwhelming proportions of these French-speakers live in and near Quebec.

Table VIII looks at the distribution of those who speak French *only* (the third of the census questions related to language) and we find the situation even more marked. Of 3,879,255 Canadians who speak French only, 99.1 per cent live in this central area.

TABLE VIII

Distribution of Population Speaking French Only, 1971

In Quebec and adjacent counties of Ontario and New Brunswick.....	3,844,060
In rest of country.....	35,195
Total Canada.....	3,879,255

C. The English-speaking population

Of Canada's 14,446,235 English-speakers, about six per cent live in the province of Quebec—887,875 (a figure which is roughly comparable to the number of French-speakers who live outside Quebec—675,920). Again, as in the case of the French-speaking population outside Quebec, the English-speaking population within Quebec is for the most part concentrated in a relatively limited area. Almost two-thirds, 572,675, live on Montreal Island and the adjacent Île Jésus. Another 110,700 live off the island, but within the Montreal census metropolitan area; and another 74,110 live in eight counties⁷ lying along parts of the Ontario and United States borders. Eighty-five per cent of the province's English-speakers live in this limited area. Table IX presents these figures.

⁷ Argenteuil, Brome, Compton, Gatineau, Huntingdon, Missisquoi, Pontiac, Stanstead.

TABLE IX

Quebeckers Speaking English Most Often at Home, 1971

In Montreal CMA plus 8 border counties..	757,500
In rest of province	130,375
Total Quebec	887,875

D. Three regions⁸

The previous Table II shows that 67.0 per cent of Canadians speak English most often at home, and 25.7 per cent of Canadians speak French most often at home. We are now in a position to see how these populations are distributed. Canada is not, in fact, a bilingual country from sea to sea. There are three major regions with respect to the two official languages. One I shall call the "Quebec heartland"—all of that province except for the Montreal census metropolitan area and eight border counties. In the Quebec heartland, French is overwhelmingly dominant. A second is what I shall call the "interface areas", composed of those counties of Ontario and New Brunswick listed in footnotes 4 and 5 which border the province of Quebec and of those parts of Quebec referred to above, which are not included in the Quebec heartland. In the interface areas, both languages are in common use. The third region is the rest of the country, stretching both east and west, where English is overwhelmingly dominant.

Distributed across this general picture there are 214,170 French-speakers living in the predominantly English areas and 130,375 English-speakers living in the Quebec heartland. (For purposes of comparison, note that 1,576,050 Canadians whose language of the home is neither English nor French are distributed throughout all three regions.)

This way of looking at the distribution of the official languages in Canada is presented in Table X.

TABLE X

Three Language Regions
Population by Language Most Often Spoken at Home, 1971

	French	English	Other	Totals
Quebec heartland.....	2,898,875 (94.9%)	130,375 (4.3%)	26,400 (0.9%)	3,055,650 (100.0%)
English areas.....	214,170 (1.5%)	12,708,755 (89.6%)	1,256,595 (8.9%)	14,179,520 (100.0%)
Interface areas.....	2,432,980 (56.1%)	1,607,110 (37.1%)	293,055 (6.8%)	4,333,145 (100.0%)

⁸ The work of Dr. Don Cartwright, geographer on the staff of the Advisory Board, and of Neil Morrison, the Board's Secretary-General, contributed a great deal to this analyst. The point of view was first suggested to me by Richard Joy's *Languages in Conflict*, Ottawa, 1967.

In Table XI, the same figures are presented, but the percentages apply vertically. This enables us to see, for example, that only 0.9 per cent of Canada's English-speakers live in the Quebec heartland; or, as another example, that almost 44 per cent of Canada's French-speakers live in the interface areas.

TABLE XI

Three Language Regions
Population by Language Most Often Spoken at Home, 1971

	French	English	Other
Quebec heartland.....	2,898,875 (52.3%)	130,375 (0.9%)	26,400 (1.7%)
English areas.....	214,170 (3.9%)	12,708,755 (88.0%)	1,256,595 (79.7%)
Interface areas.....	2,432,980 (43.9%)	1,607,100 (11.1%)	293,055 (18.6%)
Totals.....	5,546,025 (100.0%)	14,446,240 (100.0%)	1,570,050 (100.0%)

Tables XII and XIII are parallel to Tables X and XI but this time the figures show the number of people who speak one or the other, or both, or neither of the official languages (figures from the third of the census questions previously mentioned). The percentages of unilingual speakers in the interface areas as shown in Table XII are of special interest—33 per cent of people living in these areas are unilingual French; 30 per cent are unilingual English.

Table XIII shows, on the other hand, that 99.5 per cent (90.5 per cent plus 9 per cent) of all English unilinguals live in the English areas or the interface areas: 99.1 per cent (62 per cent plus 37.1 per cent) of all French unilinguals live in the Quebec heartland or the interface areas.

TABLE XII

Three Language Regions
Population by Official Language, 1971

	French only	English only	Both	Neither	Totals
Quebec heartland.....	2,406,295 (78.7%)	70,860 (2.3%)	569,560 (18.6%)	8,945 (0.3%)	3,055,650 (100.0%)
English areas.....	35,195 (0.2%)	13,097,425 (92.4%)	799,600 (5.6%)	247,300 (1.7%)	14,179,520 (100.0%)
Interface areas.....	1,437,765 (33.2%)	1,301,255 (30.0%)	1,530,995 (35.3%)	63,115 (1.5%)	4,333,145 (100.0%)

TABLE XIII
Three Language Regions
Population by Official Language, 1971

	French only	English only	Both	Neither
Quebec heartland	2,406,295 (62.0%)	70,860 (0.5%)	569,560 (19.6%)	8,945 (2.8%)
English areas	35,195 (0.9%)	13,097,425 (90.5%)	799,600 (27.6%)	247,300 (77.4%)
Interface areas	1,437,765 (37.1%)	1,301,255 (9.0%)	1,530,995 (52.8%)	63,115 (19.8%)
Totals.....	3,879,255 (100.0%)	14,469,540 (100.0%)	2,900,155 (100.0%)	319,360 (100.0%)

II—Bilingual Districts

A. General Considerations

Within the interface region, the proportions of both languages are high, the absolute numbers are high, there are many unilingual speakers of each language and there are urban centres functioning in both languages, within the sphere of activity of each community. There is no question but that the federal government should be obliged to function in both languages within these areas, and a reasonable form through which to impose this obligation would be to designate bilingual districts within which services would be offered in both official languages in all principal offices.

Outside the interface region, however, I do not believe that the declaration of a bilingual district is the best answer. In return for the costs involved, financially and in some cases politically, I think the benefits to the minority community would be slight compared with other contributions the federal government can make.

B. Other Federal Government Contributions

In our visits, we found over and over again that the two features considered by the isolated minorities to be the most crucial are schools, and high quality radio and television broadcasting. Schools are of course a provincial matter, and the federal government's contribution can only be indirect, but its contribution of funds for minority language teaching has already been substantial. In broadcasting the federal government's role can be much more direct, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation announced in March 1974 an extensive proposal for increased broadcasting in both languages to minority language communities.

In addition, the federal government has initiated other forms of support, through the office of the Secretary of State—social and cultural animation, social and cultural exchanges, and so on. In broadening the range of possibilities for social participation in the minority language, these forms of contribution by the federal government can make a real difference to the rights of the minority in language islands, as bilingual federal government offices simply would not.

It is by no means necessary to create a bilingual district in order to provide a minority group with these types of federal assistance. For one thing, such assistance is already forthcoming. Furthermore, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, in whose recommendations bilingual districts in this country have their origins, did not in any way suggest that schooling and broadcasting in the minority language should be limited to bilingual districts. The Commission envisaged many small minority communities outside bilingual districts, maintaining their own language while also functioning in the majority language of the wider community.

III—Recommended Districts

In every case, the districts I am recommending are within what I have called the interface region. In principle, they coincide with one or two provincial administrative units—counties, districts, or census divisions, depending on the province. One reason for trying to follow such boundaries is that they have the advantage of easy recognition. Another is that they are of a manageable size, so that "principal offices", as called for in the Act, would be accessible to the population.

The language statistics given in the descriptions of the districts are the mother tongue figures (that is, the data for the first question referred to previously), in order to demonstrate that the legal minimum of 10 per cent is met in every case. For purposes of comparison, and in the interests of presenting a truer picture of language use in each district, figures for language most often spoken at home are included parenthetically in those cases where the recommended district includes a census division. The abbreviations M.T. and H.L., appearing in the descriptions, signify mother tongue and language most often spoken at home, respectively.

A. New Brunswick

I am pleased as my colleagues are with the fact that in 1969 New Brunswick passed its Official Lan-

guages Act, thus declaring itself a bilingual province. That is an immensely significant step in the recent history of that province.

However, I disagree with the conclusion reached by my colleagues that the province as a whole should be declared a federal bilingual district.

In its Official Languages Act, the province of New Brunswick decided *not* to designate geographic areas within which they would have fixed obligations. They chose instead to implement their bilingual services more flexibly.

By contrast, the federal government, in its Official Languages Act, chose to create bilingual districts within which their obligations would be fixed very formally indeed. If all of New Brunswick is declared a federal bilingual district, there is no way to distinguish their obligations in Moncton or Edmundston from their obligations in St. Stephen or Sussex. The job of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board is to locate the populations of the two official languages in order to recommend the areas which should be able to function in both languages. To fail to do this in New Brunswick, it seems to me, is to cast doubt upon the whole notion of formally defined bilingual districts. One might as well go on to say that, since the overall figures for Canada meet the requirements of the law, the whole of Canada should be declared a bilingual district.

The overall figures for the two official languages in New Brunswick are very similar to those for the country as a whole—68 per cent English-speakers in New Brunswick, 67 per cent in Canada; 31 per cent French-speakers in New Brunswick, 26 per cent in Canada.

Just as Table X shows how these populations are concentrated throughout the country, Table XIV shows the concentrations in New Brunswick.

TABLE XIV
Population by Language Most Often Spoken at Home,
New Brunswick, 1971

	French	English	Other	Totals
Madawaska.....	33,155 (94.9%)	1,800 (5.1%)	20 (0.1%)	34,975 (100.0%)
6 other Interface counties ⁹	158,605 (51.0%)	149,380 (48.0%)	2,980 (1.0%)	310,965 (100.0%)
Rest of Province.....	7,325 (2.5%)	279,540 (96.9%)	1,750 (0.6%)	288,615 (100.0%)

From this Table, it strikes me as a relatively simple step to designate the areas which should be able to function in both languages.

The majority report has pointed out that many federal government head offices are in St. John and Fredericton, and has argued that these cities ought therefore to be included within a bilingual district.

There is, however, another side to that coin. The only obligation on the federal government is to provide bilingual services in the principal offices within a bilingual district. If the whole of New Brunswick is a single bilingual district, most of the principal offices would be in St. John and Fredericton. It could be argued then that the obligation is fulfilled by providing services only in St. John and Fredericton; and this would of course be of much less benefit to the Acadian population than providing services at the local level. In this sense, recommending the whole province as a single bilingual district would be doing a disservice to the Acadian population.

Of course, one can hope the application would be more reasonable than that. But I believe that the application is more likely to be reasonable if the original recommendation is reasonable, that is, if the areas designated as bilingual districts do correspond to areas where both languages are in common use. There is indeed every reason for the federal government to provide services in both languages in its head offices in New Brunswick, even if they fall outside bilingual districts. Section 9(2) of the Act (described in the majority report) seems to me to cover this case quite satisfactorily.

I recommend the following federal bilingual districts within the province of New Brunswick.

1. Gloucester

a. description

the bilingual district of Gloucester consists of the census division of Gloucester.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Gloucester, division.....	74,750	12,615 16.9%	(14,130) (18.9%)	61,875 82.8%	(60,525) (81.0%)
Total.....	74,750	12,615 16.9%	(14,130) (18.9%)	61,875 82.8%	(60,525) (81.0%)

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

⁹ Gloucester, Kent, Northumberland, Restigouche, Victoria, Westmorland.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Gloucester is located in the federal electoral district of Gloucester, and in part of the federal electoral district of Restigouche; it is located in the provincial electoral districts of Bathurst, Caraquet, Nepisiguit—Chaleur, Nigadoo—Chaleur, Shippegan—Les Îles and Tracadie.

2. Northumberland—Kent—Westmorland

a. description

the bilingual district of Northumberland—Kent—Westmorland consists of the census division of Kent; the census subdivisions of Alnwick, Chatham, Glenelg, Hardwicke, Nelson, Newcastle, and Rogersville, the towns of Chatham and Newcastle and the villages of Douglastown, Loggieville, Neguac, Nelson Miramichi and Rogersville, in the census division of Northumberland; and the census subdivisions of Botsford, Dorchester, Moncton and Shediac, the city of Moncton, the towns of Dieppe and Shediac, and the villages of Cap-Pelé, Chartersville, Dorchester, East Shediac, Lewisville, St. Anselme and St. Joseph, in the census division of Westmorland.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Kent, division.....	24,900	3,640 14.6%	(3,985) (16.0%)	20,265 81.4%	(19,975) (80.2%)
Northumberland, division (pt)					
subdivisions					
Alnwick.....	5,685	1,150 20.2%		4,515 79.4%	
Chatham.....	3,010	2,485 82.6%		510 16.9%	
Glenelg.....	1,955	1,855 94.9%		90 4.6%	
Hardwicke.....	2,660	760 28.6%		1,895 71.2%	
Nelson.....	1,010	975 96.5%		30 3.0%	
Newcastle.....	2,220	1,475 66.4%		735 33.1%	
Rogersville.....	1,370	35 2.6%		1,340 97.8%	
towns					
Chatham.....	7,830	7,065 90.2%		700 8.9%	
Newcastle.....	6,460	5,825 90.2%		565 8.7%	
villages					
Douglastown.....	635	610 96.1%		25 3.9%	
Loggieville.....	875	805 92.0%		70 8.0%	
Neguac.....	1,500	80 5.3%		1,415 94.3%	

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Nelson Miramichi.....	1,580	1,475 93.4%		100 6.3%	
Rogersville.....	1,080	30 2.8%		1,050 97.2%	
Westmorland, division (pt)					
subdivisions					
Botsford.....	2,960	1,635 55.2%		1,295 43.8%	
Dorchester.....	4,845	705 14.6%		4,125 85.1%	
Moncton.....	6,930	5,480 79.1%		1,380 19.9%	
Shediac.....	6,705	1,195 17.8%		5,495 82.0%	
city					
Moncton.....	47,890	31,015 64.8%		16,260 34.0%	
towns					
Dieppe.....	4,275	1,325 31.0%		2,930 68.5%	
Shediac.....	2,205	315 14.3%		1,875 85.0%	
villages					
Cap-Pelé.....	2,085	35 1.7%		2,040 97.8%	
Chartersville.....	320	155 48.4%		165 51.6%	
Dorchester.....	1,200	1,025 85.4%		165 13.8%	
East Shediac.....	585	75 12.8%		510 87.2%	
Lewisville.....	3,710	2,445 65.9%		1,230 33.2%	
St. Anselme.....	1,150	155 13.5%		995 86.5%	
St. Joseph.....	690	35 5.1%		655 94.9%	
Total.....	148,320	73,850 49.8%		72,425 48.8%	

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

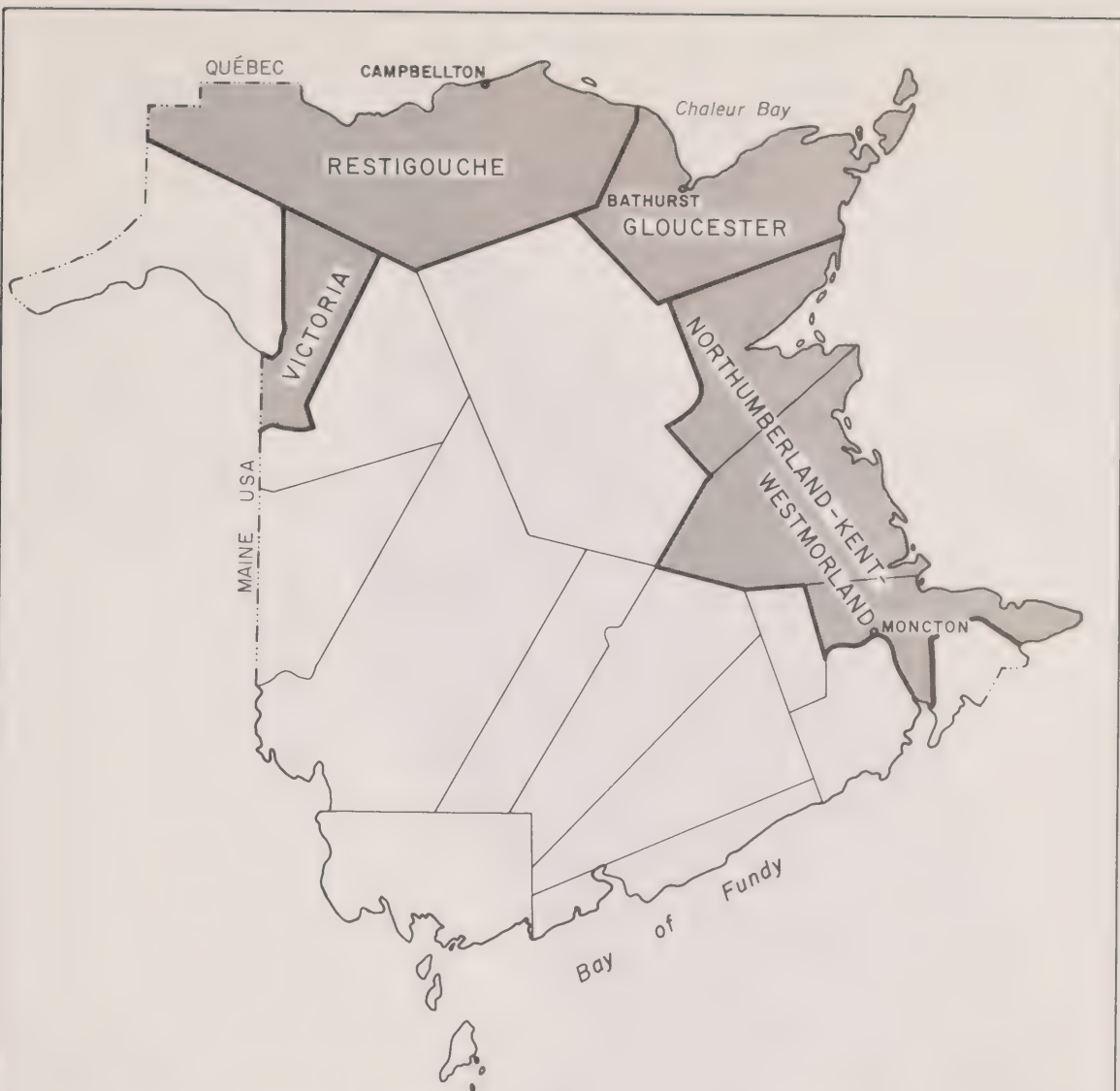
c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Northumberland—Kent—Westmorland is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Moncton, Northumberland—Miramichi and Westmorland—Kent; it is located in the provincial electoral districts of Bay du Vin, Kent South, Kent Centre, Kent North, Memramcook, Miramichi Bay, Moncton East, Moncton North, Moncton West and Shediac, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Petitcodiac.

3. Restigouche

a. description

the bilingual district of Restigouche consists of the census division of Restigouche.



PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK

Federal Bilingual Districts
LEGEND

Districts Recommended
Census Division

PROVINCE DU NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK

Districts bilingues fédéraux
LÉGENDE

Districts recommandées
Division de recensement

Miles 20 0 20 40 60 80 100 Miles

GLOUCESTER

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

- District Recommended
- Census Division
- Census Subdivision

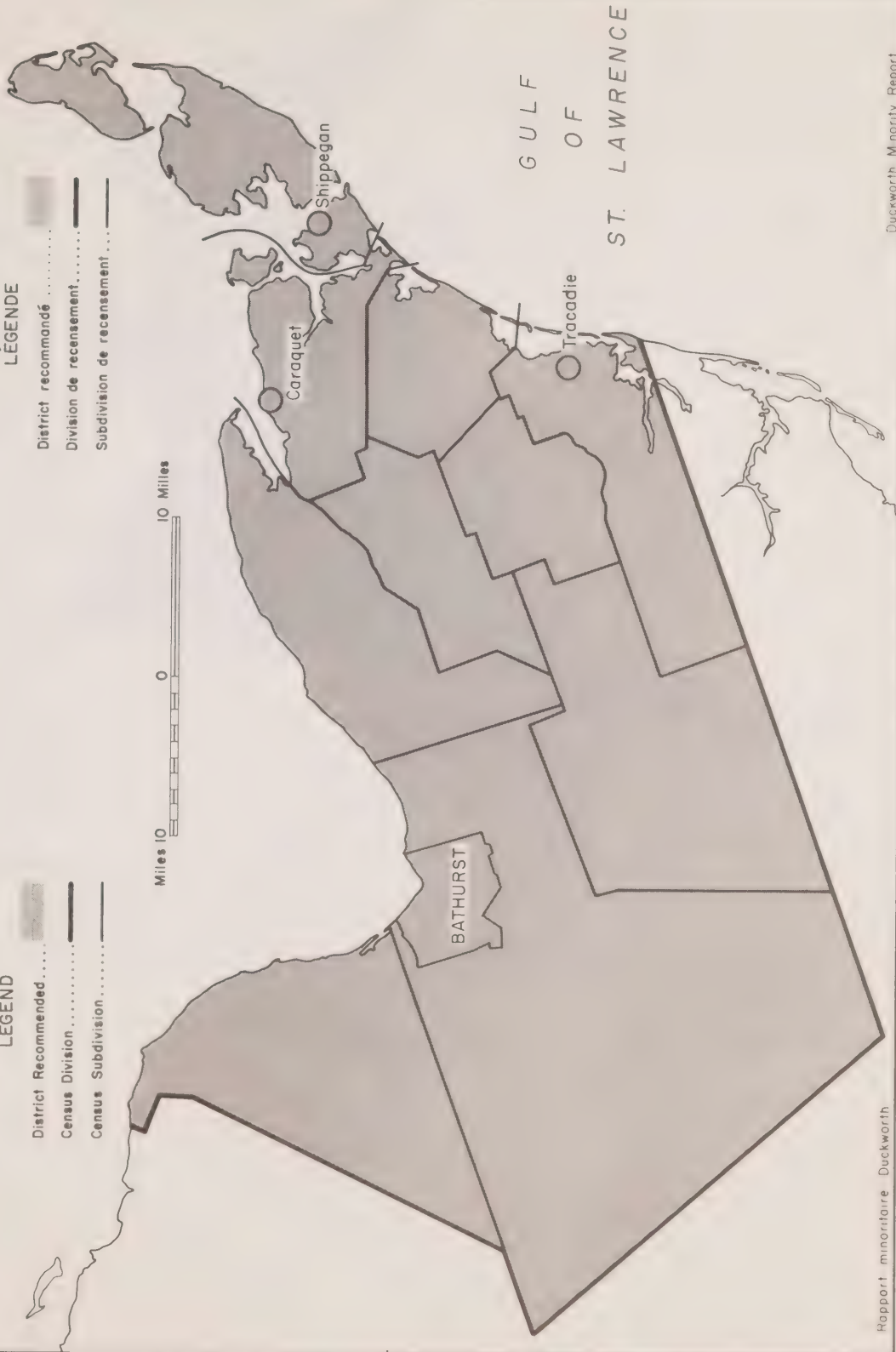
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GLOUCESTER

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

- District recommandé
- Division de recensement
- Subdivision de recensement



NORTHUMBERLAND - KENT - WESTMORLAND

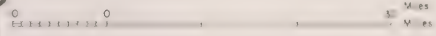
Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

District Recommended

Census Division

Census Subdivision



NORTHUMBERLAND

NORTHUMBERLAND - KENT - WESTMORLAND

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

District recommandé

Division de recensement

Subdivision de recensement



Rogersville

W. H. Burto

Buckfouche

KENT

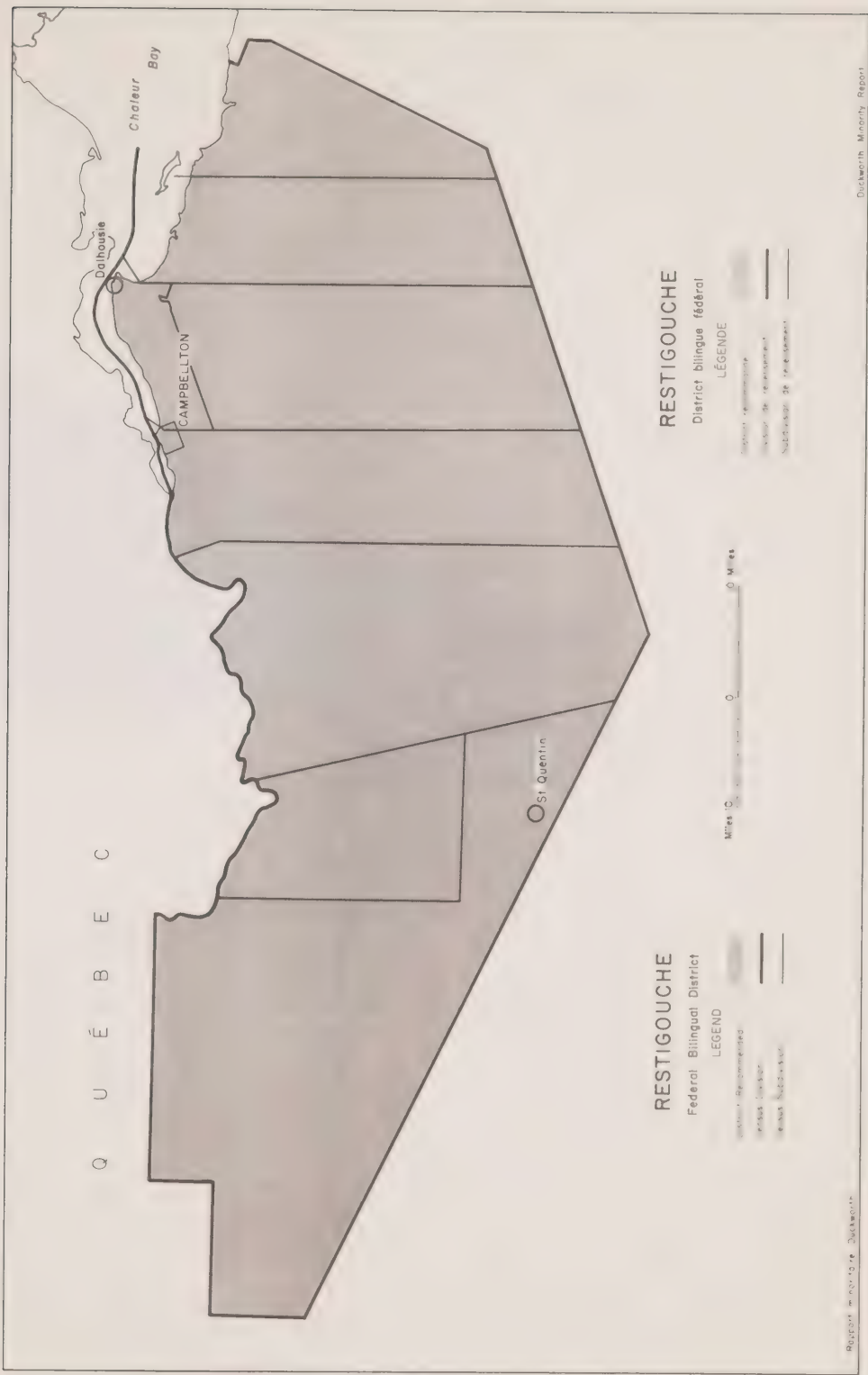
WESTMORLAND

MONCTON

Memramcook

Sackville

Q U É B E C



RESTIGOUCHE

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

- Restigouche Region
- Restigouche District
- Restigouche Region

RESTIGOUCHE

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

- Restigouche Région
- Restigouche District
- Restigouche Région

VICTORIA

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

- District Recommended.....
- Census Division.....
- Census Subdivision.....

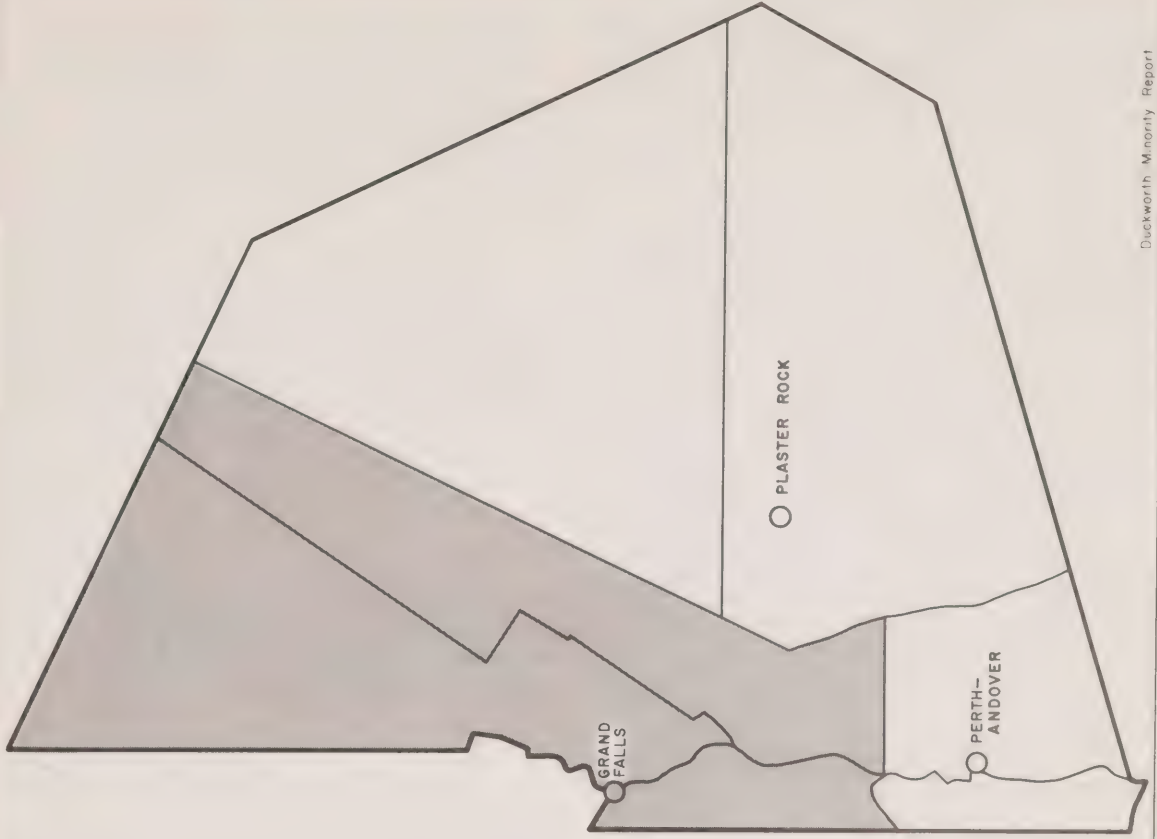
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VICTORIA

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

- District recommandé.....
- Division de recensement.....
- Subdivision de recensement.....



b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Restigouche, division.....	41,290	16,405 39.7%	(17,815) (43.1%)	24,680 59.8%	(23,395) (56.7%)
Total.....	41,290	16,405 39.7%	(17,815) (43.1%)	24,680 59.8%	(23,395) (56.7%)

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Restigouche is located in part of the federal electoral district of Restigouche, and in the provincial electoral districts of Campbellton, Dalhousie, Restigouche East and Restigouche West.

4. Victoria

a. description

the bilingual district of Victoria consists of the census subdivisions of Denmark, Drummond and Grand Falls, the town of Grand Falls, and the village of Drummond, in the census division of Victoria.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Victoria, division (pt)					
subdivisions					
Denmark.....	1,730	1,255 72.5%		285 16.5%	
Drummond	2,215	145 6.5%		2,075 93.7%	
Grand Falls.....	1,645	1,190 72.3%		445 27.1%	
town					
Grand Falls.....	4,515	935 20.7%		3,540 78.4%	
village					
Drummond.....	635	10 1.6%		630 99.2%	
Total.....	10,740	3,535 32.9%		6,975 64.9%	

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Victoria is located in part of the federal electoral district of Madawaska—Victoria; it is located in the provincial electoral district of Grand Falls, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Victoria—Tobique.

Note that Madawaska is not included as a bilingual district in my recommendations. I think the federal government should not be called upon to duplicate its services in English, given a population that is 94.8 per cent French-speaking.

B. Quebec

Although I am recommending five bilingual districts within Quebec, I think a case can be made for recommending none at all. The rights of every French-speaker in Canada essentially depend on the strength of the French setting in Quebec. Without that flourishing society, no Canadian could live fully in French. It would be nonsensical to attempt to strengthen the rights of the French-speaking minorities outside Quebec if in the same process we undermine the position of French as the language of work and exchange within Quebec. This would amount to violating the intentions of the Official Languages Act.

Bearing this in mind, I think nonetheless that the creation of bilingual districts in the areas I am recommending would not lead to any undermining of the French language communities that are involved. These are areas where there are very large numbers of unilingual English-speakers, and where communities function in both languages. Recommending that the federal government continue to provide its services in both languages is above all recognizing the way the communities are actually functioning.

In the case of Montreal, I agree with the majority of the Board that a bilingual district is an inappropriate structure. To declare the whole census metropolitan area a bilingual district would not be helpful, because within that area someone would still have to locate the language boundaries in order to decide where the "real" bilingual areas are. On the other hand, cutting the city into parts for the purpose seems to be a distortion of the whole idea. I agree that a judicious application of Section 9(2) of the Act is called for.

However, I do not agree with the majority of the Board that bilingual services should be offered "in all of its offices serving the public and located in the census metropolitan area of Montreal." (Para. 724) This recommendation strikes me as ill-conceived. (The same end would be achieved more honestly by recommending that Montreal be a bilingual district after all).

Instead, I would recommend an examination of the areas served by federal government offices to determine which ones have need of a bilingual capacity. There are very large sections in this area which are overwhelmingly French-speaking, and where it would

therefore be unreasonable to expect the federal government to offer services in both languages. To begin with, of the census subdivisions in Verchères, L'Assomption, and Beauharnois, which are included in the Montreal census metropolitan area, all are essentially French-speaking. On the island of Montreal, as well, there are large French-speaking subdivisions, as the majority report has mentioned.

I would propose that such a study be carried out by the Treasury Board, that its findings and instructions be passed on to each federal department, and that the Commissioner of Official Languages be informed, in order to undertake the necessary supervision.

I would like to point out, furthermore, that the mechanism for enforcement under Section 9(2) is exactly the same as for bilingual districts. That is, the Official Language Commissioner lodges a complaint with Parliament in any case where a federal department is found failing to offer services as required. That being the case, as long as it is clear where the services are to be provided, and the Commissioner is so informed, his supervision can be just as thorough and as effective as in bilingual districts.

The districts I am recommending in Quebec are quite similar to those recommended by the majority of the Board which fall within the interface region.

I recommend the following bilingual districts within the province of Quebec.

1. Argenteuil

Since most of the English-speaking population of Deux-Montagnes is included in the census metropolitan area of Montreal, and so dealt with elsewhere, I differ from the majority in limiting this recommendation to the single county of Argenteuil.

a. description

the bilingual district of Argenteuil consists of the census division of Argenteuil.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Argenteuil, division.....	31,320	8,870	(9,335)	22,025	(21,795)
		28.3%	(29.8%)	70.3%	(69.6%)
Total.....	31,320	8,870	(9,335)	22,025	(21,795)
		28.3%	(29.8%)	70.3%	(69.6%)

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Argenteuil is located in part of the federal electoral district of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Argenteuil.

2. Brome—Missisquoi

This district, together with districts 3 and 5, correspond to parts of what is a single district in the majority recommendations. My slight differences from the majority here reflect what I think is a more accurate description of the language boundaries. I was also concerned to keep the districts small enough so they made sense to the people living in them and would be administratively more feasible.

a. description

the bilingual district of Brome—Missisquoi consists of the census division of Brome; the census subdivisions of Bedford, Dunham, Frelighsburg, St-Armand-Ouest, St-Georges-de-Clarenceville, St-Ignace-de-Stanbridge, St-Thomas, Stanbridge, Stanbridge Station, and Venise-en-Québec, the towns of Bedford and Cowansville, and the villages of Clarenceville, Dunham, Frelighsburg and Philippsburg, in the census division of Missisquoi.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Brome, division.....	15,310	7,690	(8,270)	7,095	(6,775)
		50.2%	(54.0%)	46.3%	(44.2%)
Missisquoi, division (pt)					
subdivisions					
Bedford.....	595	205		370	
		34.5%		62.2%	
Dunham.....	1,735	585		1,100	
		33.7%		63.4%	
Frelighsburg.....	690	140		525	
		20.3%		76.1%	
St-Armand-Ouest.....	945	305		585	
		32.3%		61.9%	
St-Georges-de-Clarenceville.....	555	235		290	
		42.3%		52.3%	
St-Ignace-de-Stanbridge.....	835	140		680	
		16.8%		81.4%	
St-Thomas.....	540	230		260	
		42.6%		48.1%	
Stanbridge.....	885	575		265	
		65.0%		29.9%	
Stanbridge Station.....	415	55		345	
		13.3%		83.1%	
Venise-en-Québec.....	505	80		395	
		15.8%		78.2%	
towns					
Bedford.....	2,785	645		2,090	
		23.2%		75.0%	
Cowansville.....	11,920	2,190		9,575	
		18.4%		80.3%	

PROVINCE OF
QUEBEC

Federal Bilingual Districts

LEGEND

Centres Recommended...
Centre Division

PROVINCE DE
QUÉBEC

Districts bilingues fédéraux

LÉGENDE

Centres recommandés...
Division de recensement

Miles 100 0 100 200 Miles

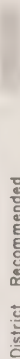

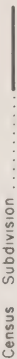
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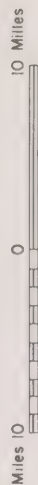
ARGENTEUIL

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

District Recommended	
Census Division	
Census Subdivision	

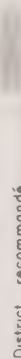
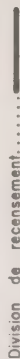
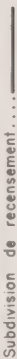
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ARGENTEUIL

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

District recommandé	
Division de recensement	
Subdivision de recensement	

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
villages					
Clarenceville.....	340	200		125	
		58.8%		36.8%	
Dunham.....	485	110		375	
		22.7%		77.3%	
Frelighsburg.....	345	45		295	
		13.0%		85.5%	
Philipsburg.....	390	150		220	
		38.5%		56.4%	
Total.....	39,275	13,580		24,590	
		34.6%		62.6%	

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Brome—Missisquoi is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Brome—Missisquoi and Shefford, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Brome—Missisquoi and Iberville.

3. Huntingdon—Châteauguay

a. description

the bilingual district of Huntingdon—Châteauguay consists of the census subdivisions of St-Antoine-Abbé partie nord-est, St-Jean-Chrysostome, St-Malachie-d'Ormstown, and Très-Saint-Sacrement, and the villages of Howick, Ormstown and St-Chrysostome, in the census division of Châteauguay; and the census division of Huntingdon.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Châteauguay, division (pt)					
subdivisions					
St-Antoine-Abbé, partie nord-est.....	310	5		305	
		1.6%		98.4%	
St-Jean-Chrysostome.....	1,345	180		1,155	
		13.4%		85.9%	
St-Malachie-d'Ormstown.....	2,035	805		1,160	
		39.6%		57.0%	
Très-Saint-Sacrement.....	1,445	845		580	
		58.5%		40.1%	
villages					
Howick.....	575	285		285	
		49.6%		49.6%	
Ormstown.....	1,520	710		795	
		46.7%		52.3%	
St-Chrysostome.....	1,075	30		1,045	
		2.8%		97.2%	
Huntingdon, division.....	15,360	6,050	(7,235)	8,155	(7,885)
		39.4%	(47.1%)	53.1%	(51.3%)
Total.....	23,665	8,910		13,480	
		37.7%		57.0%	

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Huntingdon—Châteauguay is located in part of the federal electoral district of Beauharnois—Salaberry and Saint-Jean, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Huntingdon.

4. Pontiac

Since most of the English-speaking population of Gatineau is included within the National Capital Region I differ from the majority in limiting this recommendation to the single county of Pontiac.

a. description

the bilingual district of Pontiac consists of the census subdivision of Allevy & Cawood, Bristol, Chichester, Clarendon, Dorion, Grand-Calumet, Isle-aux-Allumettes partie est, Isle-des-Allumettes, Leslie Clapham & Huddersfield, Litchfield, Mansfield & Pontefract, Rapides-des-Joachims, Sheen Esher Aberdeen & Malakoff, Thorne and Waltham & Bryson, the villages of Bryson, Campbell's Bay, Chapeau, Fort-Coulonge, Portage-du-Fort, and Shawville, and, in whole or in part, the enumeration area (E.A.) No. 211 of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 450 (Pontiac), in the census division of Pontiac.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Pontiac, division (pt)					
subdivisions					
Allevy & Cawood.....	165	140		25	
		84.8%		15.2%	
Bristol.....	1,020	935		70	
		91.7%		6.9%	
Chichester.....	565	480		80	
		85.0%		14.2%	
Clarendon.....	1,640	1,555		65	
		94.8%		4.0%	
Dorion.....	345	—		345	
		—		100.0%	
Grand-Calumet.....	1,035	270		755	
		26.1%		72.9%	
Isle-aux-Allumettes partie est....	390	305		80	
		78.2%		20.5%	
Isle-des-Allumettes.....	640	300		345	
		46.9%		53.9%	
Leslie, Clapham & Huddersfield ..	1,015	495		485	
		48.8%		47.8%	
Litchfield	670	495		155	
		73.9%		23.1%	

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Mansfield & Pontefract	1,820	250		1,560	
		13.7%		85.7%	
Rapides-des-Joachims	230	150		75	
		65.2%		32.6%	
Sheen, Esher, Aberdeen & Malakoff	195	185		5	
		94.9%		2.6%	
Thorne	295	225		10	
		76.3%		3.4%	
Waltham & Bryson	490	385		110	
		78.6%		22.4%	
villages					
Bryson	810	410		390	
		50.6%		48.1%	
Campbell's Bay	1,185	710		470	
		59.9%		39.7%	
Chapeau	535	360		175	
		67.3%		32.7%	
Fort-Coulonge	1,785	260		1,520	
		14.6%		85.2%	
Portage-du-Fort	435	375		55	
		86.2%		12.6%	
Shawville	1,745	1,630		90	
		93.4%		5.2%	
E.D. E.A. 450 211 (pt)	545	30		515	
		5.5%		94.5%	
Total	17,555	9,945		7,380	
		56.7%		42.0%	

*M.T.: mother tongue.

†H.L.: home language.

Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area, even where only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Pontiac is located in part of the federal electoral district of Pontiac, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Pontiac—Témiscamingue.

5. Stanstead—Compton

Note that a small part of the census division of Sherbrooke is included in this recommendation—notably, the town of Lennoxville, which is largely English-speaking.

a. description

the bilingual district of Stanstead—Compton consists of the census division of Compton; the census subdivision of Ascot, and the town of Lennoxville, in the census division of Sherbrooke; and the census division of Stanstead.

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Compton, division	21,365	4,215 (4,310)		17,060 (17,015)	
		19.7% (20.2%)		79.8% (79.6%)	
Sherbrooke, division (pt) subdivision					
Ascot	4,320	1,550		2,720	
		35.9%		63.0%	
town					
Lennoxville	3,860	2,790		980	
		72.3%		25.4%	
Stanstead, division	36,265	7,935 (8,165)		28,120 (27,970)	
		21.9% (22.5%)		77.5% (77.1%)	
Total	65,810	16,490		48,880	
		25.1%		74.3%	

*M.T.: mother tongue.

†H.L.: home language.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Stanstead—Compton is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Brome—Missisquoi, Compton and Sherbrooke, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Mégantic—Compton, Orford and Saint-François.

I have had difficulty deciding about the counties of Gaspé-Est and Bonaventure. The percentage of English-speakers is relatively low (in most of my recommended districts the minority composes at least 25 per cent of the population). But in these two counties this relatively small minority has an amazingly high proportion of unilinguals, suggesting that the communities function in both languages.


I have decided, in my perplexity, not to recommend them as bilingual districts. I certainly cannot accept one of the reasons given by the majority—that it would contribute to the self-esteem of the English language minority. That is not the function of a bilingual district; it makes too many other specific demands. Nor can I accept the majority's suggestion that if the counties were a bilingual district, federal services in general would be improved—in whatever language. In fact, I would tend toward the opposite view. I can well imagine an administrator deciding not to improve services there, because to do so would entail doing it doubly, if it were a bilingual district. This is one reason for my decision not to recommend them as bilingual districts, at least at this time.

The more general reason behind this decision is that a bilingual district is a heavy mechanism, and a difficult one to dislodge. In Section IV—Supplementary Recommendations, I shall make an alternate proposal for these two counties.

HUNTINGDON - CHÂTEAUGUAY

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

District Recommended	
Census Division	
Census Subdivision	

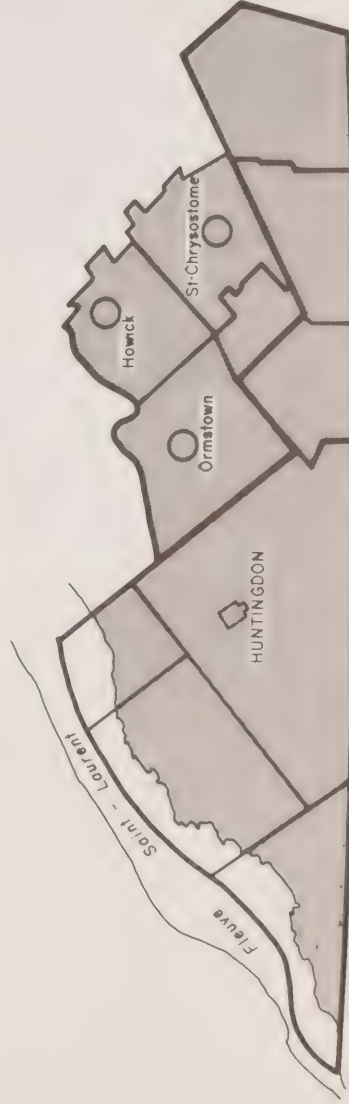
HUNTINGDON - CHÂTEAUGUAY

District bilingue fédéral

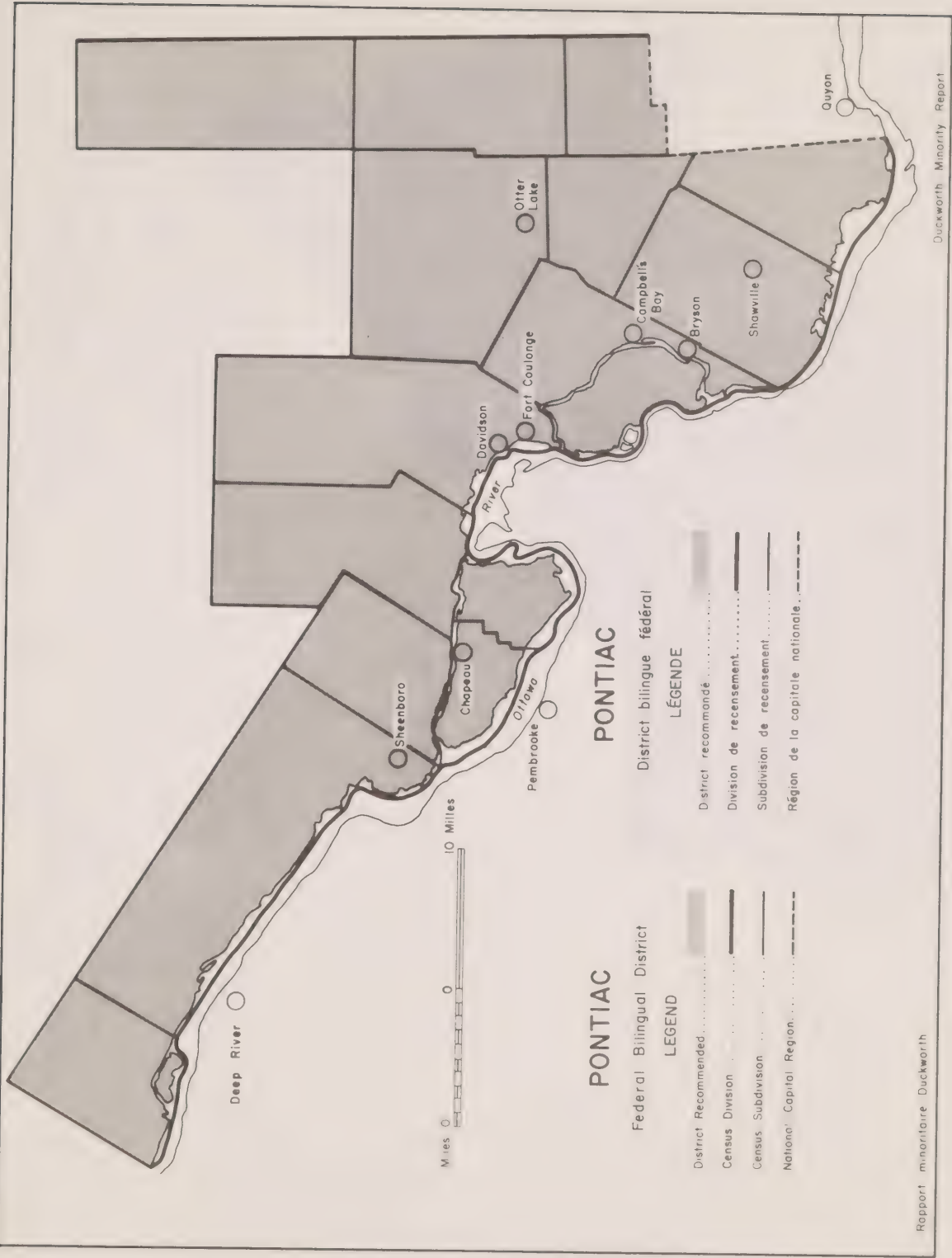
LÉGENDE

District recommandé	
Division de recensement	
Subdivision de recensement	

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STANSTEAD - COMPTON

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

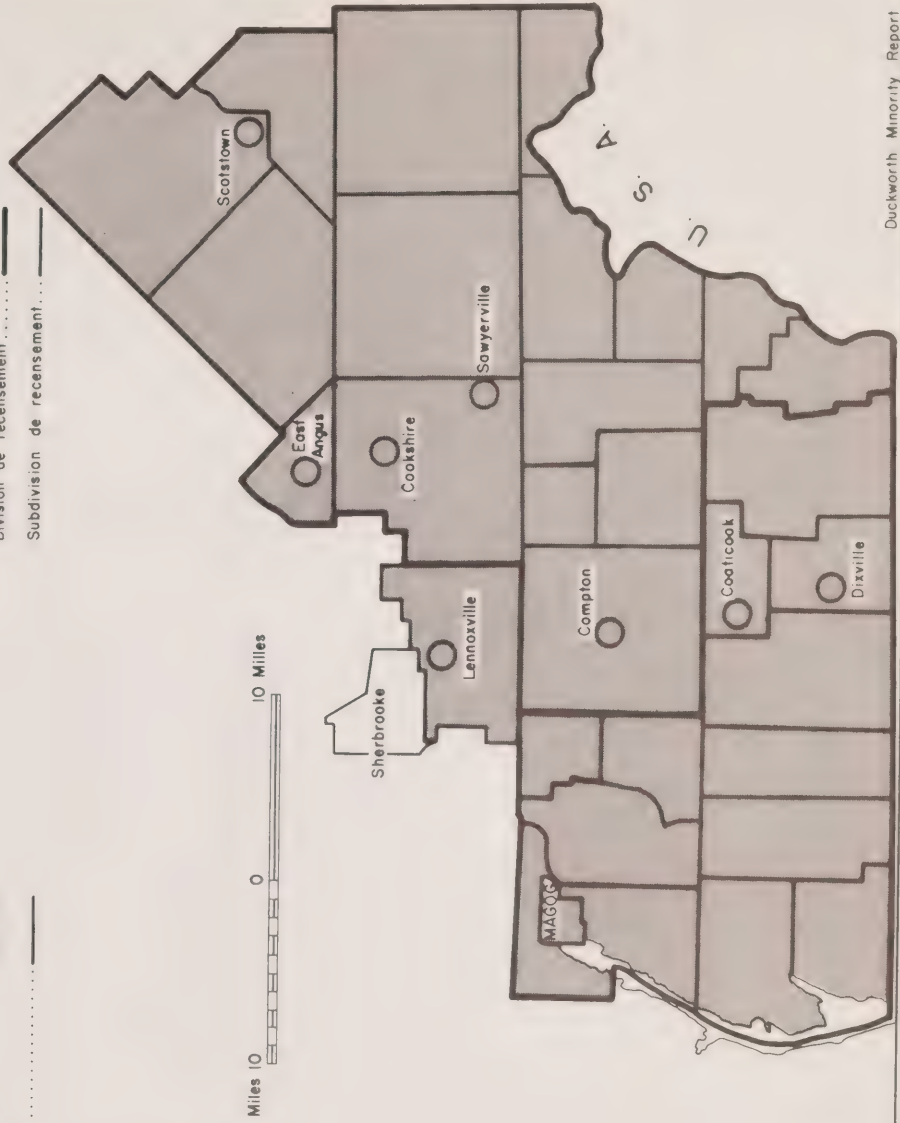
- District Recommended
- Census Division
- Census Subdivision

STANSTEAD - COMPTON

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

- District recommandé
- Division de recensement
- Subdivision de recensement



C. Ontario

Here again, my recommendations include only areas within the interface region. On the whole, the districts I recommend are smaller than the districts recommended by the majority of the Board for the same areas. This is due to the same reasons as in Quebec: on the one hand, my preference for recognizable districts of a reasonably small size; and, on the other hand, my attempt to delineate as well as possible the boundaries between areas where both languages are in common use, and areas which are essentially unilingual.

I recommend the following districts within the province of Ontario.

1. Cochrane

The northern boundary of this district follows the railway line; its exact contour is determined by school district boundaries.

a. description

the bilingual district of Cochrane consists of the census subdivisions of Black River—Matheson, Fauquier, Glackmeyer, Kendrey, Kingham I.D. (part), Mountjoy, Playfair, Shackleton & Machin, Tisdale and Whitney, the towns of Cochrane, Hearst, Iroquois Falls, Kapuskasing, Smooth Rock Falls and Timmins, in whole or in part the enumeration areas (E.A.) No. 052, 053, 054, 055, 056, 057, 058, 063, 064, 065, 103, 104, 114, 115, 117, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 162, 167 and 168 of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 505 (Cochrane), and the enumeration areas No. 024, 025, 026, 027, 073 and 074 of the federal electoral district No. 573 (Timmins), in the census division of Cochrane.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Cochrane, division (pt)					
subdivisions					
Black River—Matheson	3,185	1,895		1,170	
		59.5%		36.7%	
Fauquier.....	1,505	110		1,380	
		7.3%		91.7%	
Glackmeyer.....	815	315		445	
		38.6%		54.6%	
Kendrey.....	1,140	160		950	
		14.0%		83.3%	

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Kingham I.D. (pt).....	20	10	50.0%	10	50.0%
Mountjoy.....	2,820	720	25.5%	2,010	71.3%
Playfair.....	815	245	30.1%	555	68.1%
Shackleton & Machin.....	1,005	10	1.0%	990	98.5%
Tisdale.....	8,150	5,330	65.4%	1,100	13.5%
Whitney.....	1,965	1,355	69.0%	370	18.8%
towns					
Cochrane.....	4,965	2,440	49.1%	2,210	44.5%
Hearst.....	3,500	525	15.0%	2,745	78.4%
Iroquois Falls.....	7,270	3,505	48.2%	3,550	48.8%
Kapuskasing.....	12,835	4,620	36.0%	7,410	57.7%
Smooth Rock Falls.....	1,235	435	35.2%	745	60.3%
Timmins.....	28,545	12,270	43.0%	13,075	45.8%
E.D. E.A.					
505 052.....	10	—	—	—	—
505 053.....	520	55	10.6%	440	84.6%
505 054.....	870	40	4.6%	815	93.7%
505 055.....	405	45	11.1%	340	84.0%
505 056.....	870	60	6.9%	795	91.4%
505 057.....	195	10	5.1%	170	87.2%
505 058.....	790	45	5.7%	725	91.8%
505 063.....	405	30	7.4%	375	92.6%
505 064.....	660	50	7.6%	595	90.2%
505 065.....	270	70	25.9%	135	50.0%
505 103.....	10	—	—	5	50.0%
505 104.....	370	205	55.4%	170	46.0%
505 114.....	695	365	52.5%	305	43.9%
505 115.....	300	140	46.7%	145	48.3%
505 117.....	335	165	49.3%	150	44.8%
505 151.....	—	—	—	—	—
505 152 (pt).....	350	20	5.7%	320	91.4%
505 153.....	540	20	3.7%	525	97.2%
505 154.....	90	70	77.8%	15	16.7%
505 155.....	535	110	20.6%	430	80.4%
505 156.....	700	150	21.4%	550	78.6%
505 157.....	85	10	11.8%	80	94.1%
505 162.....	445	25	5.6%	415	93.3%
505 167 (pt).....	5	—	—	—	—
505 168 (pt).....	450	365	81.1%	35	7.8%
573 024.....	40	20	50.0%	25	62.5%
573 025.....	10	5	50.0%	—	—

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area, even where only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
573 026	310	115		165	
		37.1%		53.2%	
573 027	340	150		130	
		44.1%		38.2%	
573 073	675	370		235	
		54.8%		34.8%	
573 074	160	90		55	
		56.3%		34.4%	
Total	91,210	36,745		46,860	
		40.3%		51.4%	

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

Note: Datum is given for the whole of an enumeration area, even where only part of an E.A. is included within the bilingual district.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Cochrane is located in the federal electoral district of Timmins, and in part of the federal electoral district of Cochrane; it is located in the provincial electoral district of Cochrane South, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Cochrane North.

2. Glengarry—Stormont

a. description

the bilingual district of Glengarry—Stormont consists of the census divisions of Glengarry and Stormont.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Glengarry, division.....	18,480	9,790 (10,935)	8,165 (7,300)		
		53.0% (59.2%)	44.2% (39.5%)		
Stormont, division.....	61,300	38,460 (43,235)	20,605 (16,885)		
		62.7% (70.5%)	33.6% (27.5%)		
Total.....	79,780	48,250 (54,170)	28,770 (24,185)		
		60.5% (67.9%)	36.1% (30.3%)		

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Glengarry—Stormont is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Glengarry—Prescott—Russell and Stormont—Dundas; it is located in the provincial electoral district of Stormont, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Glengarry.

3. Nipissing

a. description

the bilingual district of Nipissing consists of the census division of Nipissing.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Nipissing, division	78,865	49,230 (55,685)	25,885 (21,425)		
		62.4% (70.6%)	32.8% (27.2%)		
Total	78,865	49,230 (55,685)	25,885 (21,425)		
		62.4% (70.6%)	32.8% (27.2%)		

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

c. electoral districts

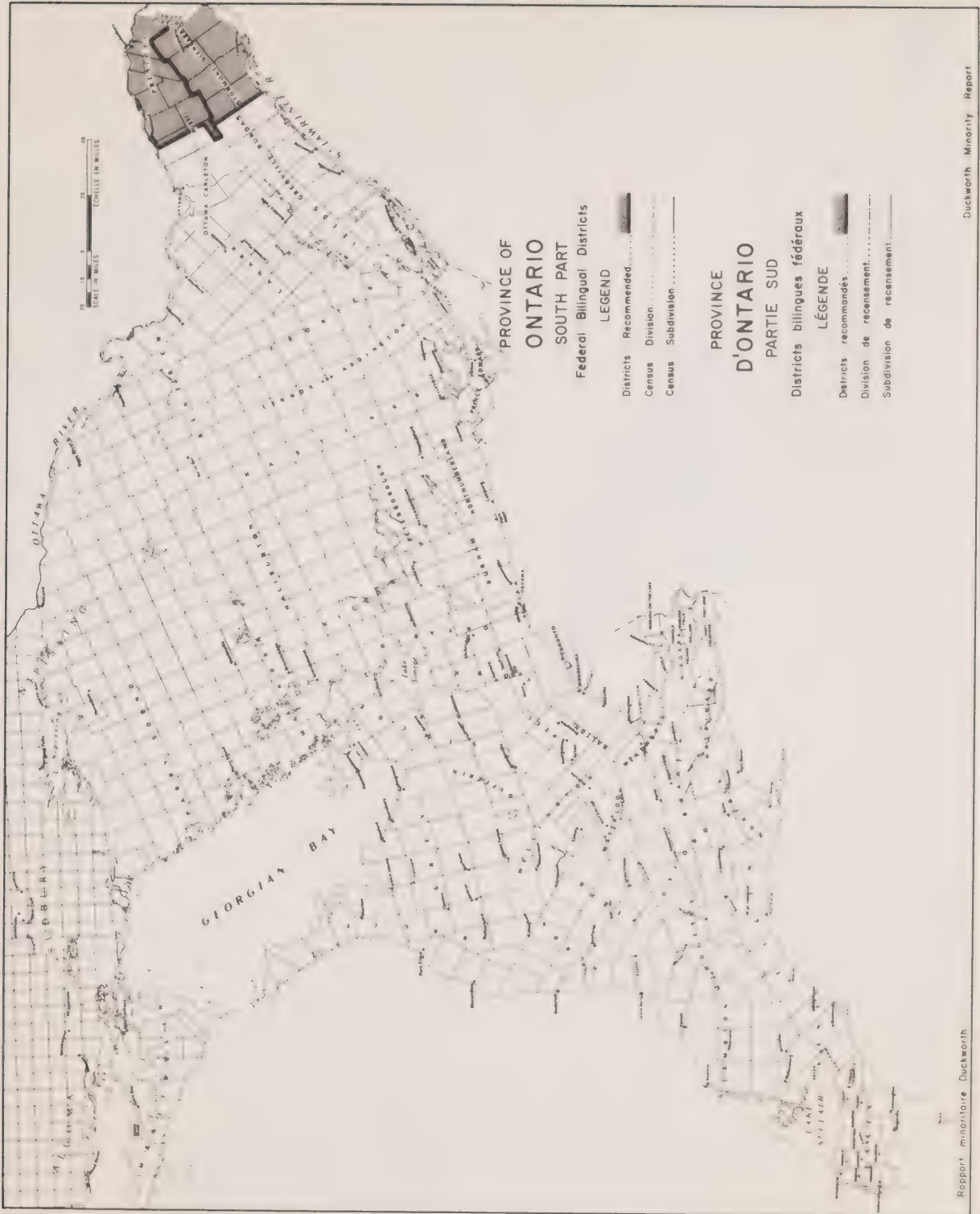
the bilingual district of Nipissing is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Nipissing, Renfrew North—Nipissing East and Timiskaming; it is located in the provincial electoral district of Nipissing, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Parry Sound and Renfrew North.

4. Prescott—Russell

The parts of Russell county which are omitted from this recommendation are included within the National Capital Region.

a. description


the bilingual district of Prescott—Russell consists, in whole or in part, of the enumeration areas (E.A.) No. 001, 002 and 003 of the federal electoral district (E.D.) No. 546 (Ottawa—Carleton), in the census division of Ottawa—Carleton; the census division of Prescott; and the census subdivisions of Cambridge and Clarence, the town of Rockland, the village of Casselman, and, in whole or in part, the enumeration areas No. 212, 215 and 216 of the federal electoral district No. 514 (Glengarry—Prescott—Russell) in the census division of Russell.



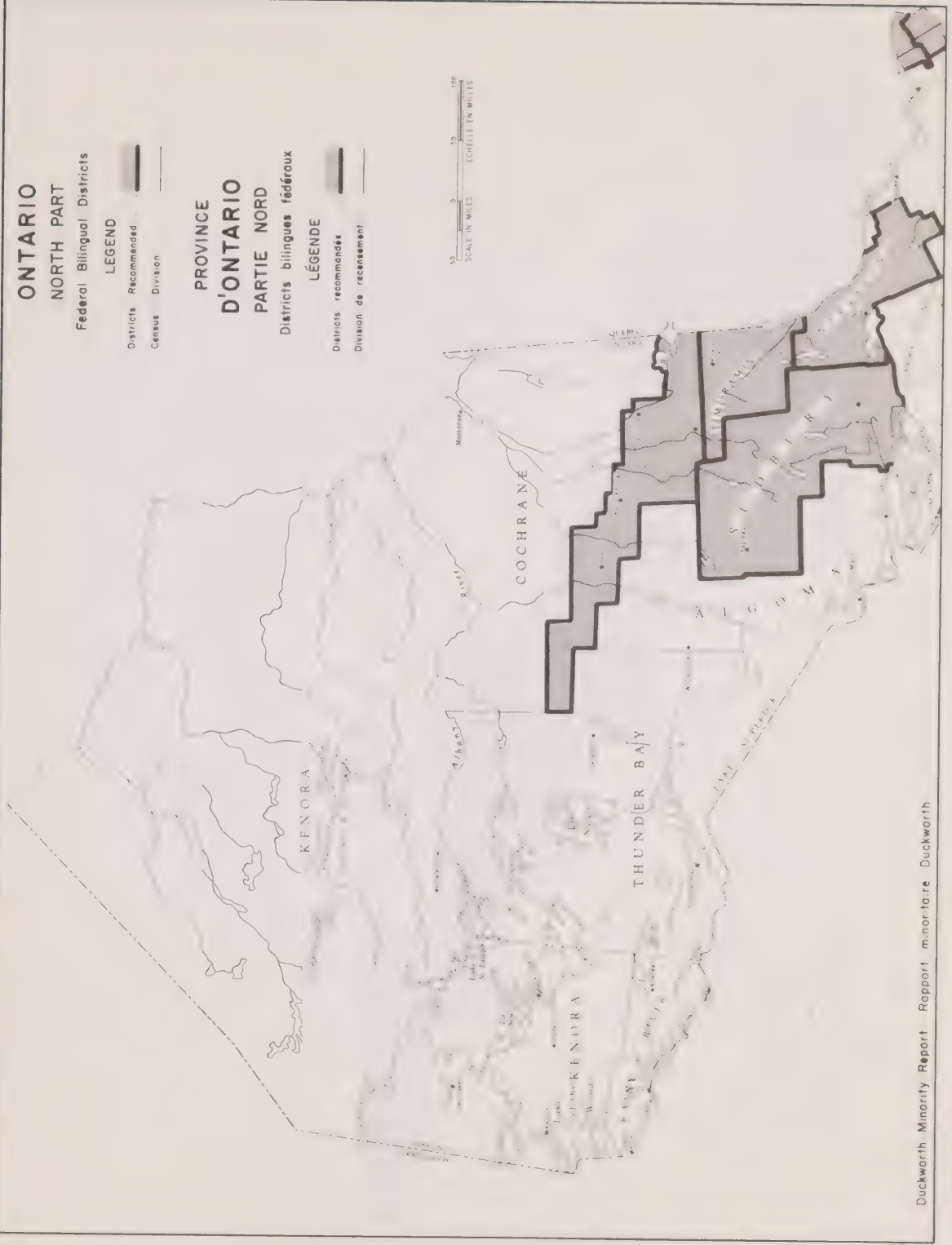
ONTARIO
NORTH PART
Federal Bilingual Districts

LEGEND
 Districts Recommended 
 Census Division 

PROVINCE
D'ONTARIO
PARTIE NORD
Districts bilingues fédéraux

LÉGENDE
 Districts recommandés 
 Division de recensement 

0 50 100 150
 SCALE IN MILES
 ÉCHELLE EN MILES



COCHRANE

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

- District Recommended
- Census Division
- Census Subdivision
- Electoral District
- Enumeration Area
- School District



Miles 20 0 20 40 Miles

COCHRANE

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

- District recommandé
- Division de recensement
- Subdivision de recensement
- District électoral
- Secteur de dénombrement
- District scolaire



GLENGARRY - STORMONT

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

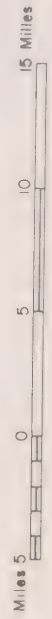
- District Recommended
- Census Division
- Census Subdivision

GLENGARRY - STORMONT

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

- District recommandé
- Division de recensement
- Subdivision de recensement



NIPISSING

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

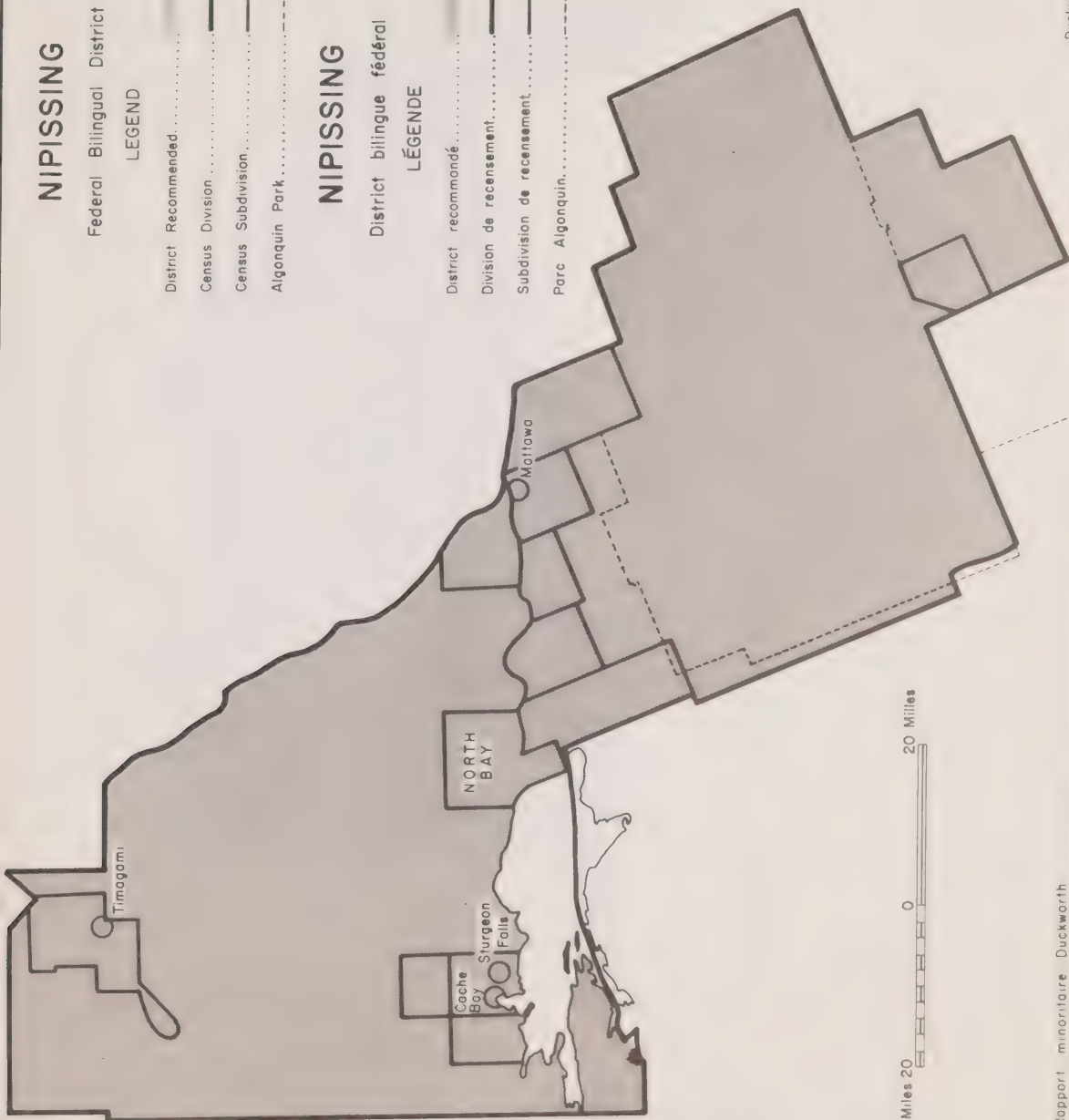
- District Recommended.....
- Census Division.....
- Census Subdivision.....
- Algonquin Park.....

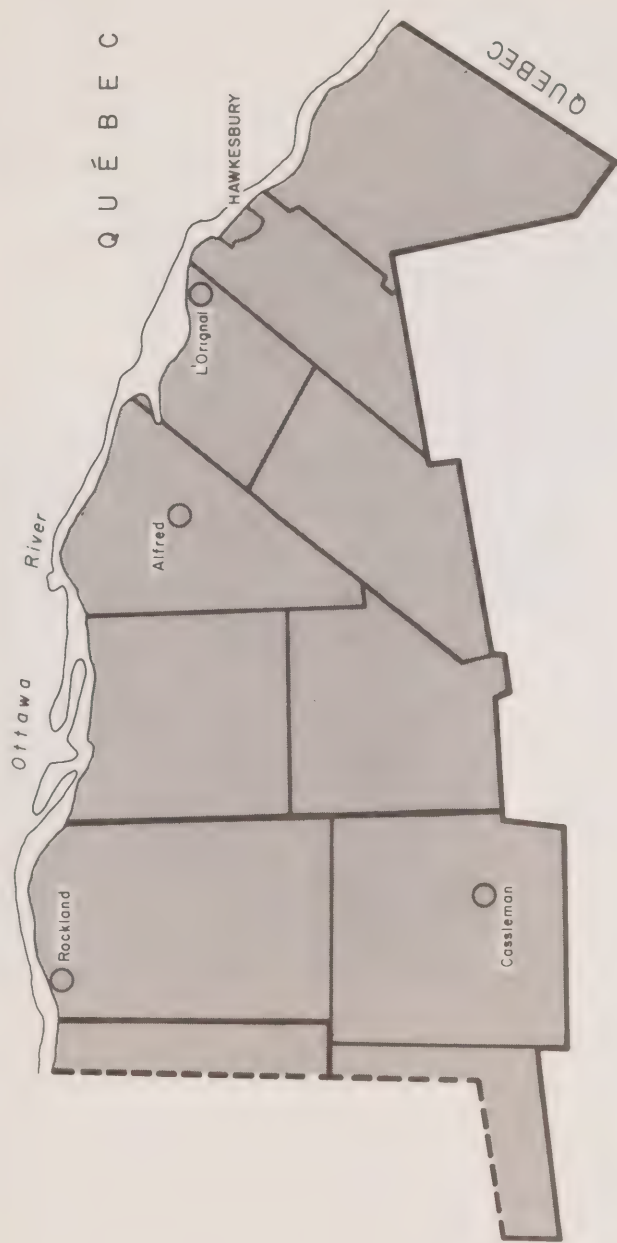
NIPISSING

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

- District recommandé.....
- Division de recensement.....
- Subdivision de recensement.....
- Parc Algonquin.....





PRESCOTT - RUSSELL

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

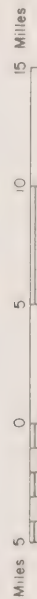
District	Recommended	.....
Census	Division	.....
Census	Subdivision	.....
National	Capital Region	-----

PRESCOTT - RUSSELL

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

District	recommandé	.....
Division	de recensement	.....
Subdivision	de recensement	.....
Région	de la capitale nationale	-----



Chapleau

SUDBURY

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

District Recommended
Census Division
Census Subdivision

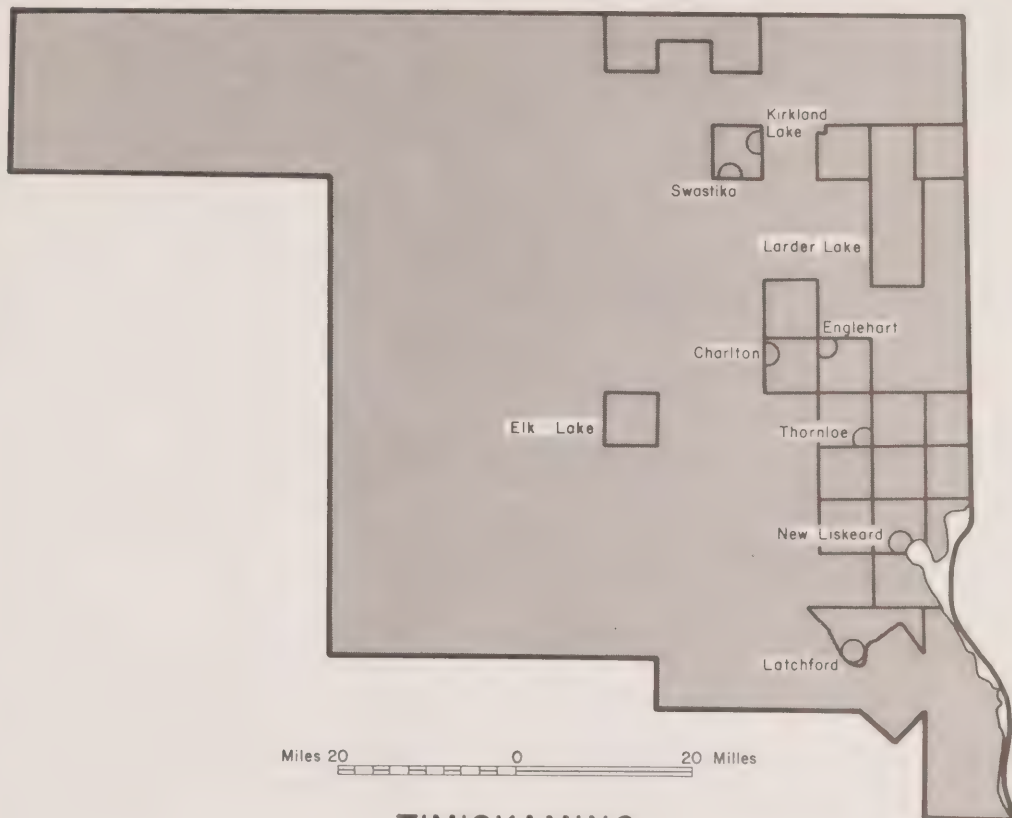
Miles 20 0 20 40 Miles

SUDBURY

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

District recommandé
Division de recensement
Subdivision de recensement



TIMISKAMING

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

District	Recommended.....	
Census	Division.....	
Census	Subdivision.....	

TIMISKAMING

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

District	recommandé.....	
Division	de recensement.....	
Subdivision	de recensement.....	

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Ottawa-Carleton, division (pt)					
E.D. E.A.					
546 001 (pt).....	700	190		450	
		27.1%		64.3%	
546 002.....	190	85		100	
		44.7%		52.6%	
546 003 (pt).....	1,465	920		495	
		62.8%		33.8%	
Prescott, division.....	27,830	4,910	(5,230)	22,595	(22,460)
		17.6%	(18.8%)	81.2%	(80.7%)
Russell, division (pt)					
subdivisions					
Cambridge.....	2,555	165		2,375	
		6.5%		93.0%	
Clarence.....	4,590	580		3,955	
		12.6%		86.2%	
town					
Rockland.....	3,650	415		3,200	
		11.4%		87.7%	
village					
Casselman.....	1,335	80		1,245	
		6.0%		93.3%	
E.D. E.A.					
514 212 (pt).....	610	55		550	
		9.0%		90.2%	
514 215 (pt).....	455	25		425	
		5.5%		93.4%	
514 216 (pt).....	430	240		150	
		55.8%		34.9%	
Total.....	43,180	7,665		35,540	
		17.8%		82.3%	

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Prescott—Russell is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Glengarry—Prescott—Russell and Ottawa—Carleton, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Glengarry, and Prescott and Russell.

5. Sudbury

a. description

the bilingual district of Sudbury consists of the census division of Sudbury.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Sudbury, division.....	198,080	109,425 (132,820)	63,895 (52,175)	55.2% (67.1%)	32.3% (26.3%)
Total.....	198,080	109,425 (132,820)	63,895 (52,175)	55.2% (67.1%)	32.3% (26.3%)

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Sudbury is located in the federal electoral district of Sudbury, and in part of the federal electoral districts of Algoma, Cochrane, Nickel Belt, Nipissing and Timiskaming; it is located in the provincial electoral districts of Nickel Belt, Sudbury and Sudbury East, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Algoma—Manitoulin.

6. Timiskaming

a. description

the bilingual district of Timiskaming consists of the census division of Timiskaming.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English		French	
		M.T.*	H.L.†	M.T.*	H.L.†
Timiskaming, division	46,485	30,315 65.2%	(34,320) (73.8%)	12,975 27.9%	(10,690) (23.0%)
Total.....	46,485	30,315 65.2%	(34,320) (73.8%)	12,975 27.9%	(10,690) (23.0%)

* M.T.: mother tongue.

† H.L.: home language.

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Timiskaming is located in part of the federal electoral district of Timiskaming, and in the provincial electoral district of Timiskaming.

IV—Supplementary Recommendations

There are other communities, outside the interface region, where some services may be needed in the minority language. These areas function essentially in the language of the majority, and parallel services in both languages, as called for in bilingual districts would not be appropriate. However, there are enough unilinguals of the minority language, for whom access to some services—Manpower, for example—might be important in their own language. In these areas, I recommend that, as in the case of Montreal, the Treasury Board examine what the essential needs are and where services are located, make recommendations as to the kind of services needed in the minority lan-

guage, and inform the Commissioner of Official Languages, who will then be in a position to supervise them.

These populations are located: in Nova Scotia—parts of Cape Breton and parts of the south-western mainland; in Quebec—Quebec City and parts of Bonaventure, Gaspé-Est, Saguenay, Shefford, Sherbrooke, Richmond, Témiscamingue; in Ontario—in Toronto, St. Catharines, Windsor and parts of Algoma; in Manitoba—Winnipeg and parts of Census Division No. 1.

Conclusion

I submit this report in the belief that it presents a framework for thinking about the place of bilingual districts in this country, and that the recommendations based on that framework are more realistic than are the recommendations of the majority of the Board. I have sought to include within the recommended bilingual districts those areas of the country where it is possible to live fully in either of the two official languages, and where the federal government must clearly assume the burden of providing equivalent services in both languages. In other minority language communities ("language islands", as they are called) I suggest that the other forms of federal government contributions are more appropriate.

Eleanor R. Duckworth

ELEANOR R. DUCKWORTH

Minority Report

A. M. Monnin

1) I have read the report of the majority of my colleagues and accept most of the recommendations therein contained.

2) On the other hand, this report contains recommendations, explanations and principles which I am unable to accept and for which I hereby express my dissent. Later, I shall specifically indicate the paragraphs which I am unable to accept in that report.

3) The Official Languages Act recognizes that the English and French languages are the official languages of Canada for all purposes of the Parliament and government of Canada and they enjoy equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions in Canada. That, and only that, matters in the determination of the boundaries for federal bilingual districts. We are not concerned with the language of work in one province, nor with the difficulties encountered in order to provide citizens with services in either one of the two official languages in one or more provinces of Canada.

4) We are concerned with what has been called institutional bilingualism and not with bilingualism of the individual. The purpose is to make sure that each citizen in areas clearly described can ask, insist upon, and receive from federal civil servants the services he requires and that in the language of his choice.

5) The Official Languages Act permits the use of two languages; it is the legal recognition that in Canada there are two major linguistic groups. The greater portion of Canadian citizens speak and read only one language and nothing indicates that in the future this situation will change. We are, therefore, concerned with the rights and privileges of two parallel unilingual groups and it is because of this, that the federal state through its civil servants must in certain very clearly delineated areas of the country speak to the citizens in both of the two official languages.

6) This principle, with which I entirely agree, must apply in similar fashion throughout the country at those places where there are sufficient concentrations of one or the other linguistic group and it must apply in the province of Quebec as well as in any other provinces of Confederation.

7) These are the basic reasons for my dissent and my refusal to sign the report of the majority of my colleagues.

8) I fully recognize that the province of Quebec is not a province like the others and that the French language is in difficulty in Canada, whereas the English language has no problems in North America. I am also aware that the French language minority, wherever it is situated in Canada, is very worried about the future of its language and culture and that some individuals are so pessimistic about this situation that they see nothing but the end of the French fact.

9) Notwithstanding that factual situation, the federal government having legislated on the use of the two official languages, cannot permit itself to treat much differently one minority from the other.

10) In its quest to elaborate a different solution for the province of Quebec vis-à-vis the rest of Canada you will find the main reason why this Advisory Board took thirty-six months to do its work, when it could have done it in fifteen.

11) Further, Parliament has approved the principle and the use of bilingual districts. Having done so, it must also be assumed that it found merit in them. By virtue of Sections 12 to 15 of the Official Languages Act it is stated that the Governor in Council may from time to time by proclamation establish one or more federal bilingual districts in a province. It is not the function of this Board to question the use, the uselessness or the lack of merit of bilingual districts, but only to recommend their establishment and their boundaries, and at times, to refuse to recommend the establishment of a district after a serious study has shown that the minority language group in that particular area no longer has the desire to maintain its minority language. That was the task assigned to us by Section 15(1), but our Board allowed itself to digress considerably to make or order a large number of position papers, to do research on a number of topics and even to interpret in its own fashion Sections 9(1) and 9(2). Interpretation of legal texts is a difficult subject by itself and was not our responsibility and much less our field of qualification. The time is ripe to say that I have much more confidence in Section 9(1) than my colleagues; they, on the other hand, allowed themselves to speculate on the possibilities as seen by them of Section 9(2). A careful reading of that section does not give me the same confidence in it as they have found. Section 9(1) is more positive and specific than Section 9(2). I am fully convinced that Section 9(1) has much more chance of immediate application by the federal authorities than anything that can come under Section 9(2).

12) I see no inconvenience if the French language becomes the language of work of the federal civil service employees in the province of Quebec, but the question is whether a study of that situation forms part of our terms of reference. Our terms pertained to the delineation of districts which will guarantee to every Canadian, whether he be of English or French mother tongue, to request, to insist if necessary, and to obtain federal services which he desires in the language of his choice within territorial boundaries clearly defined and easily recognizable.

13) If, in the past, federal services had not been given to the minority groups, I can see no better way to ascertain that they shall be given in the future than by the establishment of bilingual districts with clear-cut boundaries. I do not accept the principle that if these services were provided in the past or if today it seems reasonable that they will be provided in the future, or if they can be guaranteed alternatively under Section 9(2), that in such a case a bilingual district is absolutely unnecessary. If one has lived even a short while amongst the French language minority groups in this country, he will readily appreciate how necessary it is to have a clear and decisive legal protection in order that the rights so cherished will not be revoked arbitrarily and oftentimes with hardly any notice. The most recent situation in the Montreal region, where federal civil servants refused to do any work which required the use of the English language, even refusing computer tabulation duties containing English symbols or abbreviations, is another proof of my statement. Whether these civil servants deserve additional compensation for the use of the second official language, that is another matter entirely, but the principle remains, that those who wanted to receive federal services in the English language had the right to insist upon them.

14) I am, therefore, in complete disagreement with the principles set out in paragraphs 224 to 227 in the first part of the majority report.

15) With respect to the province of Quebec I am unable to accept the arguments and recommendations set out in the following paragraphs in the second part of the report:

- a) paragraphs 486, 487, 488;
- b) Terrebonne, paragraph 499;
- c) Noranda—Rouyn, paragraph 514;
- d) Schefferville, paragraph 519;
- e) Temiscaming, paragraph 523;
- f) Sherbrooke, paragraphs 667, 668;
- g) Montreal, paragraphs 716 to 724.

16) In Alberta I am unable to accept the recommendation of my colleagues pertaining to Legal—Morinville—Saint-Albert.

17) The verbose report of my colleagues has set out the pros and cons pertaining to the establishment of each district as well as all the necessary statistical data and I have no intention to repeat the arguments

therein clearly set out, except in the case of the census metropolitan area of Montreal (referred to in (a) above) where I want to express myself more specifically.

18) Herewith are my recommendations pertaining to the establishment of bilingual districts in the province of Quebec.

b) I recommend that Sainte-Adèle, Sainte-Anne-des-Lacs and Saint-Sauveur form part of the bilingual district of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes.

c) I recommend that the towns of Noranda and Rouyn constitute a bilingual district.

d) I recommend that Schefferville, where 29.5 per cent of the population have declared that English is their mother tongue, shall constitute a bilingual district. I note here that a double standard was used. My colleagues have recommended that the western portion of Labrador, including the towns of Wabush, Labrador City and Churchill Falls as well as other unorganized territory be declared a bilingual district. In that western portion of Labrador the French-speaking population is much less than the 29.5 per cent of English mother tongue population in the Schefferville area. Nevertheless, my colleagues recommended a district in West Labrador and failed to recommend one in Schefferville. I am unable to distinguish between those two regions and must make similar recommendations for both areas.

e) I think I am the only one of the group who has visited on two occasions the region of Témiscamingue in Quebec and to have had the privilege of spending a few days in the city of Temiscaming, in which 885 persons of English mother tongue reside. I have made my own investigation and I recommend that the town of Temiscaming be declared a bilingual district.

f) I recommend that the city of Sherbrooke be incorporated in the bilingual district recommended by the majority, as most of the federal services in the area are available in the city of Sherbrooke. It is essential that the city of Sherbrooke be included in the bilingual district, otherwise the recommendation is useless. Once again, I have more confidence in Section 9(1) than in the recommendation of my colleagues suggesting that bilingual services should be given in all large urban centres in Canada. Should the Governor in Council decide to accept the recommendation of my colleagues in respect to large urban centres and that in the future services will be provided in both languages in those centres, then I shall be most happy.

g) I have had the privilege of reading Dr. W. H. Hickman's report pertaining to the census metropolitan area of Montreal and I agree entirely with it. Once again I am unable to accept that, since in the past the minority group has received federal services in the English language in the census metropolitan area of Montreal, that it will necessarily follow that in the future it will continue to receive those services and that, therefore, it is unnecessary for this Advisory Board to recommend the establishment of a bilingual district. With the ideas prevailing in certain regions of Canada, the only guarantee that the minority group can have that in the future it will be served in the language of its choice lies in the establishment of accurately defined bilingual districts. Furthermore, we are not concerned with the past, but with the immediate present and with the next decade (1971-1981) of which four years have already been dissipated.

19) At the time of the 1971 census taking, there were in the census metropolitan area of Montreal 595,395 persons of English mother tongue and 683,390 persons who declared that English was the language most often spoken in the home. We find here the largest concentration of a linguistic minority group in Canada. The figures above shown are higher than the entire French mother tongue population of Ontario. The French mother tongue population of Ontario together with that of New Brunswick exceeds the English-speaking minority group in the Montreal area by merely a few thousand. To refuse to this group advantages and rights (no matter how modest they may be) which it could receive under a bilingual district, is in my view shocking.

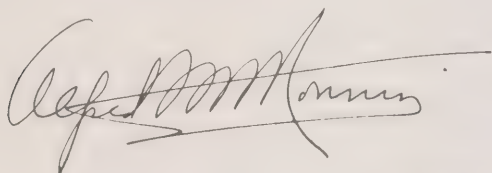
20) What credibility our Advisory Board may have acquired since the beginning of its work in June 1972, may be challenged on this recommendation alone. With all the strength at my disposal, I refuse to participate in this majority decision. On the contrary, I reject it totally.

21) For federal bilingual services I recommend that the census metropolitan area of Montreal be declared a bilingual district. Such recommendation on my part will not stop me, on other appropriate occasions, to argue strongly that Montreal should give itself a French exterior aspect and should proclaim its pride in its French culture and in the fact that it should be the second largest French-speaking city of the world—a fact which is hardly noticeable to a visitor in that great

metropolis. It will only become the second largest French-speaking city in the world when its public servants and its citizens show their desire to give a French visage to the city and that notwithstanding, that at the federal level, civil servants should provide services in either official language at the citizen's choice.

22) In Alberta I recommend that the region of Legal—Morinville—Saint-Albert as very clearly indicated in the majority report constitute a bilingual district, having first taken care to exclude the cities of Clyde and Westlock and the census subdivision 92. Westlock. There is absolutely no guarantee that federal services will be given in the two languages in the city of Edmonton, although I do hope so. In the meantime, whether they be given in Edmonton or not, the French mother tongue minority of the Legal area is entitled to receive its services without having to wait upon a proclamation pertaining to services in either language in their provincial capital.

DATED at the community of Saint-Boniface in the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba, this eleventh day of June, 1975.



A. M. MONNIN

1. Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes

a. description

the bilingual district of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes consists of the census subdivisions of Arundel, Chatham, Gore, Grenville, Harrington, Lac-des-Seize-Îles, Mille-Îles, Montcalm, Morin Heights, St-Adolphe-d'Howard, St-André-d'Argenteuil, Wentworth and Wentworth-Nord, the city of Lachute, the town of Barkmere, and the villages of Brownsburg, Calumet, Carillon, Grenville and St-André-Est, in the census division of Argenteuil; the census subdivision of St-Colomban and the city of Ste-Scholastique, in the census division of Deux-Montagnes; the census subdivisions of Namur and Ponsonby, in the census

division of Papineau; the census subdivisions of Ste-Adèle, Ste-Anne-des-Lacs and St-Sauveur, in the census division of Terrebonne.

b. 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English	Percentage
Argenteuil, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Arundel.....	395	275	69.6
Chatham.....	3,080	850	27.6
Gore.....	255	205	80.4
Grenville.....	1,875	1,070	57.1
Harrington.....	700	580	82.9
Lac-des-Seize-Îles.....	215	15	7.0
Mille-Îles.....	370	230	62.2
Montcalm.....	245	125	51.0
Morin Heights.....	1,315	730	55.5
St-Adolphe-d'Howard.....	1,335	345	25.8
St-André-d'Argenteuil.....	845	160	18.9
Wentworth.....	145	120	82.8
Wentworth-Nord.....	390	65	16.7
city			
Lachute.....	11,815	2,265	19.2
town			
Barkmere.....	50	30	60.0
villages			
Brownsburg.....	3,480	990	28.4
Calumet.....	765	185	24.2
Carillon.....	420	25	6.0
Grenville.....	1,495	340	22.7
St-André-Est.....	1,200	205	17.1
Deux-Montagnes, division (pt)			
subdivision			
St-Colomban.....	1,070	135	12.6
city			
Ste-Scholastique.....	14,785	535	3.6
Papineau, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Namur.....	460	75	16.3
Ponsonby.....	195	70	35.9
Terrebonne, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Ste-Adèle.....	3,820	500	13.1
Ste-Anne-des-Lacs.....	525	85	16.2
St-Sauveur.....	905	285	31.5
Total.....	52,150	10,495	20.1

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes, Gatineau, Labelle and Terrebonne; it is located in part of the provincial electoral districts of Argenteuil, Two Mountains and Prévost.

2. Huntingdon—Compton

a. description

the bilingual district of Huntingdon—Compton consists of the census subdivisions of Adamsville, Austin, Bolton-Est, Bolton-Ouest, Potton, St-Étienne-de-Bolton and Sutton, the towns of Bromont, Lac-Brome and Sutton, and the villages of Abercorn, Adamsville, Brome, East Farnham and Eastman, in the census division of Brome; the census subdivisions of St-Malachie-d'Ormstown and Très-Saint-Sacrement, and the villages of Howick and Ormstown, in the census division of Châteauguay; the census subdivisions of Bury, Clifton partie est, Compton, Compton Station, Eaton, Hampden, Lingwick and Newport, the towns of Cookshire, Scotstown and Waterville and the villages of Compton and Sawyerville, in the census division of Compton; the census subdivision of Milan, in the census division of Frontenac; the census subdivision of Dundee, Elgin, Franklin, Godmanchester, Havelock, Hemmingford, Hinchinbrook and St-Anicet, the town of Huntingdon, and the village of Hemmingford, in the census division of Huntingdon; the census subdivisions of Bedford, Dunham, Frelighsburg, St-André-Ouest, St-Georges-de-Clarenceville, St-Ignace-de-Stanbridge, St-Thomas, Stanbridge, Stanbridge Station and Venise-en-Québec, the towns of Bedford and Cowansville, and the villages of Clarenceville, Dunham, Frelighsburg and Philipsburg, in the census division of Missisquoi; the census subdivisions of Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel and St-Bernard-de-Lacolle, and the village of Lacolle, in the census division of St-Jean; the census subdivisions of St-Joachim-de-Shefford, Shefford and Stukely-Sud, the town of Waterloo, and the villages of Stukely-Sud and Warden in the census division of Shefford; the census subdivision of Ascot, the city of Sherbrooke and the town of Lennoxville, in the census division of Sherbrooke; the census subdivisions of Barnston, Barnston-Ouest, Hatley, Hatley partie ouest, Ogden, Ste-Catherine-de-Hatley, St-Mathieu-de-Dixville, Stanstead and Stanstead-Est, the town of Rock Island, and the villages of Ayer's Cliff, Beebe Plain, Dixville, Hatley, North Hatley and Stanstead Plain, in the census division of Stanstead; the census subdivision of Dudswell, and the villages of Bishopton and Marbleton, in the census division of Wolfe.

b) 1971 census statistics

division - subdivision	total	English	Percentage
Brome, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Adamsville	1 450	410	28.3
Austin	1 060	485	45.8
Bolton-Est	465	360	77.4
Bolton-Ouest	820	410	50.0
Potton	1 660	885	53.3
St-Étienne-de-Bolton	305	70	23.0
Sutton	950	605	63.7
towns			
Bromont	1 090	210	19.3
Lac-Brome	4 060	2 705	66.6
Sutton	1 685	830	49.3
villages			
Abercorn	370	145	39.2
Adamsville	495	45	9.1
Brome	295	230	78.0
East Farnham	360	210	58.3
Eastman	525	95	18.1
Châteauguay, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
St-Malachie-d'Ormstown	2 035	805	39.6
Très-Saint-Sacrement	1 445	845	58.5
villages			
Howick	575	285	49.6
Ormstown	1 520	710	46.7
Compton, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Bury	1 145	680	59.4
Clifton, partie est....	425	100	23.5
Compton	810	165	20.4
Compton Station ...	825	120	14.5
Eaton	1 595	640	40.1
Hampden	160	25	15.6
Lingwick	610	75	12.3
Newport	855	435	50.9
towns			
Cookshire	1 485	280	18.9
Scotstown	920	200	21.7
Waterville	1 480	430	29.1
villages			
Compton	505	55	10.9
Sawyerville	865	440	50.9
Frontenac, division (pt)			
subdivision			
Milan	270	35	13.0
Huntingdon, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Dundee	480	250	52.1
Elgin	455	275	60.4
Franklin	1 160	320	27.6
Godmanchester	1 885	960	50.9
Havelock	660	335	50.8
Hemmingford	1 675	825	49.3
Hinchinbrook	1 910	1 330	69.6
St-Anicet	1 725	265	15.4
town			
Huntingdon	3 090	1 085	35.1
village			
Hemmingford	810	390	48.1

ARGENTEUIL - DEUX-MONTAGNES

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

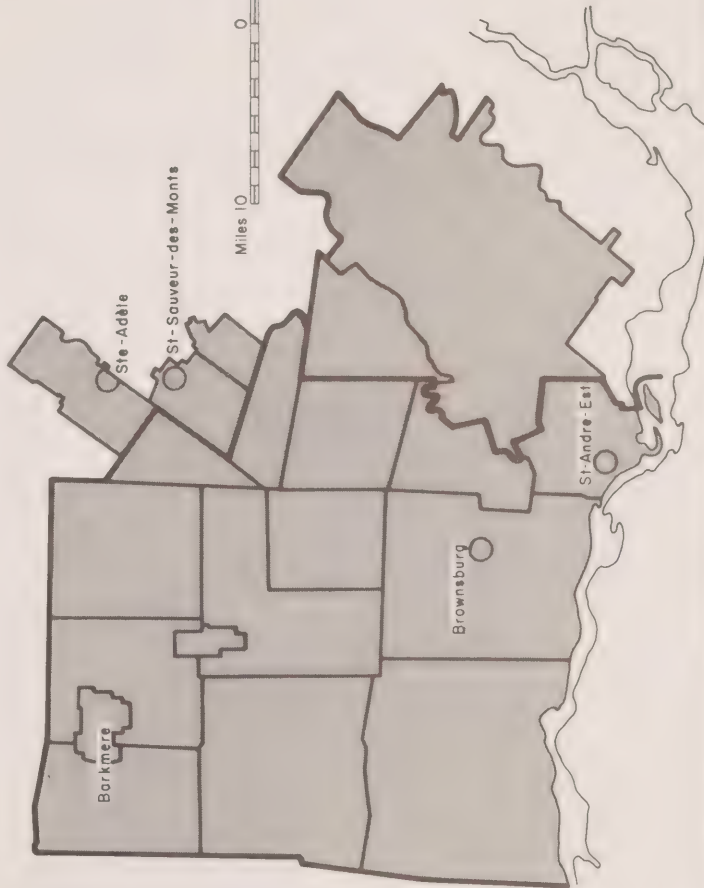
District	Recommended.....
Census	Division
Census	Subdivision.....

ARGENTEUIL - DEUX-MONTAGNES

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

District	recommandé.....
Division	de recensement
Subdivision	de recensement.....



HUNTINGDON - COMPTON

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

District Recommended
Census Division
Census Subdivision

HUNTINGDON - COMPTON

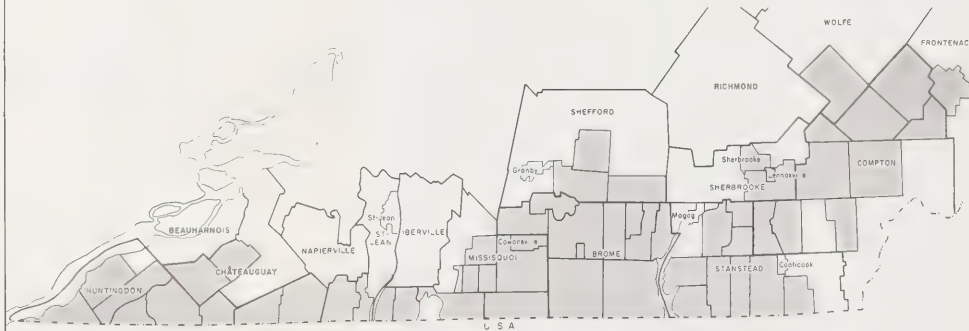
District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

District recommandé _____

Division de recensement _____

Subdivision de recensement _____



division—subdivision	total	English	Percentage
Missisquoi, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Bedford	595	205	34.5
Dunham	1,735	585	33.7
Frelighsburg	690	140	20.3
St-Armand-Ouest	945	305	23.3
St-Georges-de-Clarenceville	555	245	42.3
St-Ignace-de-Stanbridge	835	140	16.8
St-Thomas	540	230	42.6
Stanbridge	885	575	65.0
Stanbridge Station	415	55	13.3
Venise-en-Québec	505	80	15.8
towns			
Bedford	2,785	645	23.2
Cowansville	11,920	2,190	18.4
villages			
Clarenceville	340	200	58.8
Dunham	485	110	22.7
Frelighsburg	345	45	13.0
Philipsburg	390	150	38.5
St-Jean, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel	990	150	15.2
St-Bernard-de-Lacolle	1,400	250	17.9
village			
Lacolle	1,255	175	13.9
Shefford, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
St-Joachim-de-Shefford	915	120	13.1
Shefford	1,745	410	23.5
Stukely-Sud	470	80	17.0
town			
Waterloo	4,935	1,065	21.6
villages			
Stukely-Sud	390	175	44.9
Warden	385	80	20.8
Sherbrooke, division (pt)			
subdivision			
Ascot	4,320	1,550	35.9
city			
Sherbrooke	80,710	6,120	7.6
town			
Lennoxville	3,860	2,790	72.3
Stanstead, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Barnston	1,350	140	10.4
Barnston-Ouest	600	175	29.2
Hatley	505	390	67.8
Hatley, partie ouest	440	265	60.2
Ogden	775	555	71.6
St-Catherine-de-Hatley	985	110	11.2
St-Mathieu-de-Dixville	300	45	15.0
Stanstead	720	430	59.7
Stanstead-Est	810	380	46.9
town			
Rock Island	1,340	760	56.7
villages			
Ayer's Cliff	875	615	70.3
Beebe Plain	1,235	565	45.7
Dixville	550	240	43.6
Hathley	215	185	86.0
North Hatley	725	520	71.7
Stanstead Plain	1,195	580	48.5
Wolfe, division (pt)			
subdivision			
Dudswell	620	115	18.5
villages			
Bishopton	335	115	34.3
Marbleton	615	55	8.9
Total	186,225	45,150	24.2

c. electoral districts

the bilingual district of Huntingdon—Compton is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Beauharnois—Salaberry, Brome—Missisquoi, Compton, Richmond, Saint-Jean, Shefford and Sherbrooke; it is located in the provincial electoral district of Sherbrooke, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Brome—Missisquoi, Huntingdon, Iberville, Mégantic—Compton, Orford, Saint-François, Saint-Jean and Shefford.

3. Census Metropolitan Area of Montreal

a) description

the bilingual district of the Census Metropolitan Area of Montreal consists of the territory of the C.M.A. of Montreal.

b) 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English	Percentage
Île-de-Montréal and			
Île-Jésus, division	2,187,155	494,950	22.6
Chambly, division	231,950	43,745	18.9
Châteauguay, division (pt)			
towns			
Châteauguay	15,795	7,845	49.7
Châteauguay-Centre	17,945	6,215	34.6
Léry	2,250	505	22.5
Mercier	4,010	220	5.5
Deux-Montagnes, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
St-Eustache	7,415	355	4.8
Ste-Marthe-sur-le-lac	3,165	220	6.9
city			
Deux-Montagnes	8,635	4,575	53.0
town			
St-Eustache	9,480	1,520	16.0
village			
Pointe-Calumet	2,215	95	4.3
Laprairie, division (pt)			
subdivisions			
Notre-Dame	2,910	260	8.9
St-Constant	5,725	415	7.2
St-Catherine-d'Alexandrie de-Laprairie	3,935	245	6.2
towns			
Brossard	23,450	4,935	21.0
Candiac	5,185	1,615	31.1
Dolson	2,940	380	12.9
Laprairie	8,310	220	2.6
Indian Reserves	3,985	2,060	51.8

division	subdivision	total	English	Percentage
L'Assomption, division (pt)				
subdivisions				
	L'Assomption	2,030	25	1.2
	L'Epiphanie	1,665	10	0.6
	St-Charles-de-Lachenaie	3,670	65	1.8
	St-Paul-l'Érmitte	3,660	125	3.4
towns				
	Charlemagne	4,110	65	1.6
	L'Assomption	4,915	35	0.7
	L'Epiphanie	2,750	5	0.2
	Mascouche	8,815	1,380	15.7
	Repentigny	19,520	470	2.4
Rouville, division (pt)				
subdivisions				
	Notre-Dame-du-Bon-Secours	765	50	6.5
	Ste-Marie-de-Monnoir	1,360	5	0.4
	St-Mathias	1,665	50	3.0
towns				
	Marieville	4,565	30	0.7
	Mont-St-Hilaire	5,760	1,120	19.5
	Otterburn Park	3,510	2,275	64.8
	Richelieu	1,775	145	8.2
Terrebonne, division (pt)				
subdivision				
	St-Louis-de-Terrebonne	4,295	180	4.2
city				
	Ste-Thérèse	17,175	1,085	6.3
towns				
	Blainville	9,630	760	7.9
	Lorraine	3,145	1,255	39.9
	Rosemère	6,710	3,345	49.9
	Ste-Thérèse-Ouest	7,280	580	8.0
	Terrebonne	9,215	220	2.4
village				
	Bois-des-Filion	4,060	100	2.5
Vaudreuil, division (pt)				
subdivisions				
	Notre-Dame-de-l'Île-Perrot	1,555	320	20.6
	Terrasse-Vaudreuil	1,695	440	26.0
towns				
	Dorion	6,210	1,120	18.0
	Hudson	4,345	3,130	72.0
	Île-Cadieux	45	20	44.4
	Île-Perrot	4,020	440	10.9
	Pincourt	5,900	3,035	51.4
	Pointe-du-Moulin	180	45	25.0
	Vaudreuil	3,845	495	12.9
village				
	Vaudreuil-sur-le-lac	285	15	5.3
Verchères, division (pt)				
subdivisions				
	St-Amable	2,395	15	0.6
	Ste-Anne-de-Varennes	2,885	70	2.4
	Ste-Julie	2,560	45	1.8
	St-Mathieu-de-Beloeil	560	—	—
town				
	Beloeil	12,270	1,600	13.0
villages				
	McMasterville	2,520	355	14.1
	Varennes	2,385	50	2.1
	Total	2,743,205	595,395	21.7

c) electoral districts

the bilingual district of the Census Metropolitan Area of Montreal is located in the federal electoral districts of Ahuntsic, Dollard, Duvernay, Gamelin, Hochelaga, Lachine, Lafontaine, Laprairie, LaSalle, Laurier, Laval, Longueuil, Maisonneuve—Rosemont, Mercier, Montréal—Bourassa, Mount-Royal, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, Outremont, Papi-neau, Saint-Denis, Saint-Henri, Saint-Jacques, Sainte-Marie, Saint-Michel, Verdun and Westmount and in part of the federal electoral districts of Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes, Beauharnois—Salaberry, Chambly, Joliette, Saint-Hyacinthe, Terrebonne and Vaudreuil; it is located in the provincial electoral districts of Anjou, Bourassa, Bourget, Chambly, Crémazie, D'Arcy McGee, Dorion, Fabre, Gouin, Jacques-Cartier, Jeanne-Mance, L'Acadie, Lafontaine, Laurier, Laval, Maisonneuve, Marguerite-Bourgeoys, Mercier, Mille-Îles, Mont Royal, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, Outremont, Pointe-Claire, Robert Baldwin, Rosemont, Sainte-Anne, Saint-Henri, Saint-Jacques, Saint-Laurent, Saint-Louis, Sainte-Marie, Sauvé, Taillon, Terrebonne, Verdun, Viau and Westmount, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Beauharnois, Châteauguay, Two Mountains, Iberville, L'Assomption, Vaudreuil—Soulanges and Verchères.

4. Rouyn—Noranda

a) description

the bilingual district of Rouyn—Noranda consists of the cities of Noranda and Rouyn, in the census division of Témiscamingue.

b) 1971 census statistics

division	subdivision	total	English	Percentage
Témiscamingue, division (pt)				
cities				
	Noranda	10,740	2,225	20.7
	Rouyn	17,820	645	3.6
	Total	28,560	2,870	10.1

c) electoral districts

the bilingual district of Rouyn—Noranda is located in part of the federal electoral district of Témiscamingue, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Rouyn—Noranda.

CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA OF MONTREAL

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

District Recommended

Area Boundary

Census Division

RÉGION MÉTROPOLITAINE DE RECENSEMENT DE MONTRÉAL

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

District recommandé

Limite de la région

Division de recensement



Metropolitan Region
Région métropolitaine

QUEBEC

Federal Bilingual Districts

LEGEND

Districts Recommended

Province Division



QUÉBEC

Districts bilingues fédéraux

LÉGENDE

Districts recommandés

Division de recensement



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LEGAL - MORINVILLE - ST. ALBERT

Federal Bilingual District

LEGEND

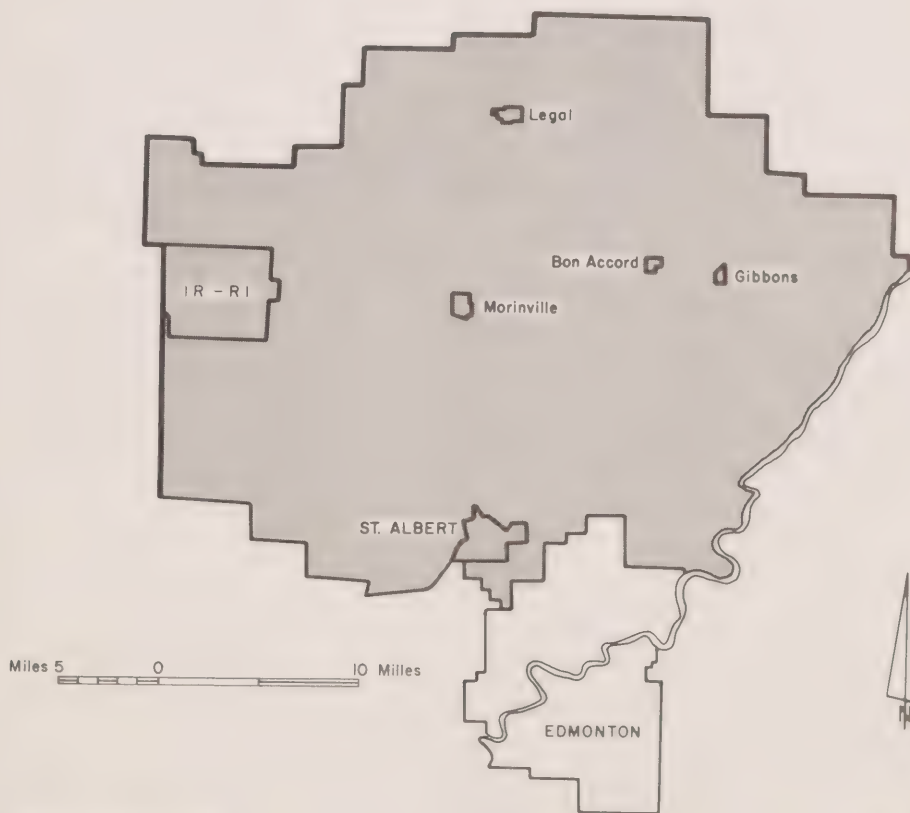
District Recommended.....
Census Division.....
Census Subdivision.....

LEGAL - MORINVILLE - SAINT-ALBERT

District bilingue fédéral

LÉGENDE

District recommandé.....
Division de recensement.....
Subdivision de recensement.....



5. Schefferville

a) description

the bilingual district of Schefferville consists of the town of Schefferville, in the census division of Saguenay.

b) 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English	Percentage
Saguenay, division (pt)			
Nouveau-Québec (pt)			
town			
Schefferville.....	3,270	965	29.5
Total.....	3,270	965	29.5

c) electoral districts

the bilingual district of Schefferville is located in part of the federal electoral district of Manicouagan and in part of the provincial electoral district of Duplessis.

6. Temiscaming

a) description

the bilingual district of Temiscaming consists of the town of Temiscaming, in the census division of Témiscamingue.

b) 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	English	Percentage
Témiscamingue, division (pt)			
town			
Temiscaming.....	2,425	885	36.5
Total.....	2,425	885	36.5

c) electoral districts

the bilingual district of Temiscaming is located in part of the federal electoral district of Témiscamingue, and in part of the provincial electoral district of Pontiac—Témiscamingue.

7. Legal—Morinville—St. Albert

a) description

the bilingual district of Legal—Morinville—St. Albert consists of census subdivision 90. Sturgeon, the towns of Morinville and St. Albert, and the villages of Bon Accord, Gibbons and Legal, in census division No. 11.

b) 1971 census statistics

division—subdivision	total	French	Percentage
Division No. 11 (pt)			
subdivision 90. Sturgeon.....	10,975	1,965	17.9
towns			
Morinville.....	1,475	480	32.5
St. Albert.....	11,800	885	7.5
villages			
Bon Accord.....	330	5	1.5
Gibbons.....	550	30	5.5
Legal.....	560	370	66.1
Total.....	25,690	3,735	14.5

c) electoral districts

the bilingual district of Legal—Morinville—St. Albert is located in part of the federal electoral districts of Edmonton West, Pembina and Wetaskiwin, and in part of the provincial electoral districts of Barrhead, Redwater, St. Albert and Stony Plain.

PART V
APPENDICES

Appendix 1



CHAPTER O-2

CHAPITRE O-2

An Act respecting the status of the official languages of Canada

Loi concernant le statut des langues officielles du Canada

SHORT TITLE

TITRE ABRÉGÉ

- | | | |
|-------------|--|---|
| Short title | 1. This Act may be cited as the <i>Official Languages Act</i> . 1968-69, c. 54, s. 1. | Titre abrégé |
| | | 1. La présente loi peut être citée sous le titre: <i>Loi sur les langues officielles</i> . 1968-69, c. 54, art. 1. |

DECLARATION OF STATUS OF LANGUAGES

DÉCLARATION DU STATUT DES LANGUES

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| Declaration of status | 2. The English and French languages are the official languages of Canada for all purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada, and possess and enjoy equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all the institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 2. | Déclaration du statut des langues |
| | | 2. L'anglais et le français sont les langues officielles du Canada pour tout ce qui relève du Parlement du gouvernement du Canada; elles ont un statut, des droits et des privilèges égaux quant à leur emploi dans toutes les institutions du Parlement et du gouvernement du Canada. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 2. |

STATUTORY AND OTHER INSTRUMENTS

ACTES STATUTAIRES ET AUTRES

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--|
| Instruments directed to public | 3. Subject to this Act, all instruments in writing directed to or intended for the notice of the public, purporting to be made or issued by or under the authority of the Parliament or Government of Canada or any judicial, quasi-judicial or administrative body or Crown corporation established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada, shall be promulgated in both official languages. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 3. | Actes à l'intention du public |
| | | 3. Sous toutes réserves prévues par la présente loi, tous les actes portés ou destinés à être portés à la connaissance du public et présentés comme établis par le Parlement ou le gouvernement du Canada, par un organisme judiciaire, quasi-judiciaire ou administratif ou une corporation de la Couronne créés en vertu d'une loi du Parlement, ou comme établis sous l'autorité de ces institutions, seront promulgués dans les deux langues officielles. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 3. |
| Legislative instruments | 4. All rules, orders, regulations, by-laws and proclamations that are required by or under the authority of any Act of the Parliament of Canada to be published in the official gazette of Canada shall be made or issued in both official languages and shall be published accordingly in both official languages, except that where the authority by | Actes du pouvoir législatif |
| | | 4. Les règles, ordonnances, décrets, règlements et proclamations, dont la publication au journal officiel du Canada est requise en vertu d'une loi du Parlement du Canada, seront établis et publiés dans les deux langues officielles. Toutefois, lorsque l'autorité qui établit une règle, une ordonnance, un décret, un règlement ou une proclamation |

which any such rule, order, regulation, by-law or proclamation is to be made or issued is of the opinion that its making or issue is urgent and that to make or issue it in both official languages would occasion a delay prejudicial to the public interest, the rule, order, regulation, by-law or proclamation shall be made or issued in the first instance in its version in one of the official languages and thereafter, within the time limited for the transmission of copies thereof or its publication as required by law, in its version in the other, each such version to be effective from the time the first is effective. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 4.

estime qu'il est urgent de les établir et que leur établissement dans les deux langues officielles entraînerait un retard préjudiciable à l'intérêt public, la règle, l'ordonnance, le décret, le règlement ou la proclamation seront établis d'abord dans l'une des langues officielles, puis dans l'autre, en respectant le délai légal fixé pour la communication d'exemplaires de ces actes ou leur publication. La dernière version prendra effet à la même date que la première. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 4.

Decisions,
orders and
judgments

5. (1) All final decisions, orders and judgments, including any reasons given therefor, issued by any judicial or quasi-judicial body established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada shall be issued in both official languages where the decision, order or judgment determines a question of law of general public interest or importance or where the proceedings leading to its issue were conducted in whole or in part in both official languages.

5. (1) Les décisions, ordonnances et jugements finals, avec les motifs y afférents, émis par un organisme judiciaire ou quasi-judiciaire créé en vertu d'une loi du Parlement du Canada, seront tous émis dans les deux langues officielles lorsque la décision, l'ordonnance ou le jugement tranche une question de droit présentant de l'intérêt ou de l'importance pour le public en général ou lorsque les procédures y afférentes se sont déroulées, en totalité ou en partie, dans les deux langues officielles.

Décisions,
ordonnances
et jugements

Idem

(2) Where any final decision, order or judgment issued by a body described in subsection (1) is not required by that subsection to be issued in both official languages, or where a body described in that subsection by which any final decision, order or judgment including any reasons given therefor is to be issued is of the opinion that to issue it in both official languages would occasion a delay prejudicial to the public interest or resulting in injustice or hardship to any party to the proceedings leading to its issue, the decision, order or judgment including any reasons given therefor shall be issued in the first instance in its version in one of the official languages and thereafter, within such time as is reasonable in the circumstances, in its version in the other, each such version to be effective from the time the first is effective.

(2) Lorsque le paragraphe (1) n'exige pas qu'une décision, une ordonnance ou un jugement finals, émis par un organisme visé dans ce paragraphe, le soient dans les deux langues officielles ou lorsqu'un organisme visé dans ce paragraphe, qui doit émettre la décision, l'ordonnance ou le jugement finals avec les motifs y afférents, est d'avis que le fait de l'émettre dans les deux langues officielles entraînerait, soit un retard préjudiciable à l'intérêt public, soit une injustice ou un inconvénient grave pour l'une des parties aux procédures qui ont abouti à son émission, la décision, l'ordonnance ou le jugement, avec les motifs y afférents, seront émis d'abord dans l'une des langues officielles, puis dans l'autre, en respectant le délai raisonnable en l'occurrence. La dernière version prendra effet à la même date que la première.

Idem

Oral rendition
of decisions
not affected

(3) Nothing in subsection (1) or (2) shall be construed as prohibiting the oral rendition or delivery, in one only of the official languages, of any decision, order or judgment or any reasons given therefor.

(3) Aucune disposition des paragraphes (1) ou (2) ne sera interprétée comme interdisant de rendre de vive voix, en une seule langue officielle, une décision, une ordonnance ou un jugement, avec les motifs y afférents.

Les décisions
rendues
oralement ne
sont pas
affectées

Rules govern-
ing practice
and procedure

(4) All rules, orders and regulations governing the practice or procedure in any proceedings before a body described in subsection (1) shall be made in both official languages but where the body by which any such instrument is to be made is satisfied that its making in both official languages would occasion a delay resulting in injustice or hardship to any person or class of persons, the instrument shall be made in the first instance in its version in one of the official languages and thereafter as soon as possible in its version in the other, each such version to be effective from the time the first is effective. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 5.

Non-
compliance:
effect and
limitation

6. Without limiting or restricting the operation of any law of Canada relating to the conviction of a person for an offence consisting of a contravention of a rule, order, regulation, by-law or proclamation that at the time of the alleged contravention was not published in the official gazette of Canada in both official languages, no instrument described in section 4 or 5 is invalid by reason only that it was not made or issued in compliance with those sections, unless in the case of any instrument described in section 4 it is established by the person asserting its invalidity that the non-compliance was due to bad faith on the part of the authority by which the instrument was made or issued. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 6.

Printing of
notices and
advertisements

7. Where, by or under the authority of the Parliament or Government of Canada or any judicial, quasi-judicial or administrative body or Crown corporation established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada, any notice, advertisement or other matter is to be printed in a publication for the information primarily of members of the public resident in the National Capital Region or a federal bilingual district established under this Act, the matter shall, wherever possible in publications in general circulation within that Region or district, be printed in one of the official languages in at least one such publication appearing wholly or mainly in that language and in the other official language in at least one such publication appearing wholly or mainly in that other language, and shall be given as nearly as

Règles de
pratique et de
procédure

(4) Les règles, ordonnances et règlements qui régissent la pratique ou la marche à suivre dans les procédures devant un organisme visé au paragraphe (1) seront établis dans les deux langues officielles. Toutefois, lorsque l'organisme par lequel un tel acte doit être établi est convaincu que son établissement dans les deux langues officielles entraînerait un retard aboutissant à une injustice ou à un inconvénient grave pour une personne ou une catégorie de personnes, l'acte sera établi d'abord dans l'une des langues officielles et, dès que possible par la suite, dans l'autre langue. La dernière version prendra effet à la même date que la première. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 5.

Défaut:
effet et
limitation

6. Sans limiter ni restreindre l'application des lois du Canada ayant trait à la condamnation d'une personne en raison d'une infraction pour contravention d'une règle, d'une ordonnance, d'un décret, d'un règlement ou d'une proclamation qui, au moment de la contravention alléguée, n'était pas publiée au journal officiel du Canada dans les deux langues officielles, aucun acte visé à l'article 4 ou à l'article 5 n'est invalide du seul fait qu'il n'a pas été établi conformément à ces articles, sauf si, pour un acte visé à l'article 4, il est établi par la personne se prévalant de son invalidité que ce défaut était dû à la mauvaise foi de l'autorité par laquelle l'acte a été établi. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 6.

Impression
d'avis et
d'annonces

7. Lorsque, dans une publication, doivent être imprimés, par le Parlement ou le gouvernement du Canada, par tout organisme judiciaire, quasi-judiciaire ou administratif ou par une corporation de la Couronne créés en vertu d'une loi du Parlement du Canada, ou lorsque doivent y être imprimés, sous leur autorité, un avis, une annonce ou autre chose principalement dans le but d'informer le public de la région de la Capitale nationale ou d'un district bilingue fédéral créé en vertu de la présente loi, ce texte doit, lorsque c'est possible dans des publications dont la circulation est générale dans cette région ou ce district, être imprimé en l'une des langues officielles dans au moins une publication de ce genre paraissant entièrement ou principalement en cette langue et être imprimé en l'autre langue officielle dans au moins une publication de ce genre

reasonably may be equal prominence in each such publication. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 7.

paraissant entièrement ou principalement en cette autre langue. On donnera au texte, autant qu'il est raisonnablement possible de le faire, la même importance dans les deux publications. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 7.

CONSTRUCTION OF VERSIONS OF
ENACTMENTS

INTERPRÉTATION DES VERSIONS DES TEXTES
LÉGISLATIFS

Construction
of enactments

8. (1) In construing an enactment, both its versions in the official languages are equally authentic.

8. (1) Dans l'interprétation d'un texte législatif, les versions des deux langues officielles font pareillement autorité.

Interprétation
des textes
législatifs

Rules to be
applied

(2) In applying subsection (1) to the construction of an enactment,

(2) Pour l'application du paragraphe (1) à l'interprétation d'un texte législatif,

Règles à
appliquer

(a) where it is alleged or appears that the two versions of the enactment differ in their meaning, regard shall be had to both its versions so that, subject to paragraph (c), the like effect is given to the enactment in every part of Canada in which the enactment is intended to apply, unless a contrary intent is explicitly or implicitly evident;

a) lorsqu'on allègue ou lorsqu'il apparaît que les deux versions du texte législatif n'ont pas le même sens, on tiendra compte de ses deux versions afin de donner, sous toutes réserves prévues par l'alinéa c), le même effet au texte législatif en tout lieu du Canada où l'on veut qu'il s'applique, à moins qu'une intention contraire ne soit explicitement ou implicitement évidente;

(b) subject to paragraph (c), where in the enactment there is a reference to a concept, matter or thing the reference shall, in its expression in each version of the enactment, be construed as a reference to the concept, matter or thing to which in its expression in both versions of the enactment the reference is apt;

b) sous toutes réserves prévues à l'alinéa c), lorsque le texte législatif fait mention d'un concept ou d'une chose, la mention sera, dans chacune des deux versions du texte législatif, interprétée comme une mention du concept ou de la chose que signifient indifféremment l'une et l'autre version du texte législatif;

(c) where a concept, matter or thing in its expression in one version of the enactment is incompatible with the legal system or institutions of a part of Canada in which the enactment is intended to apply but in its expression in the other version of the enactment is compatible therewith, a reference in the enactment to the concept, matter or thing shall, as the enactment applies to that part of Canada, be construed as a reference to the concept, matter or thing in its expression in that version of the enactment that is compatible therewith; and

c) lorsque l'expression d'un concept ou d'une chose, dans l'une des versions du texte législatif, est incompatible avec le système juridique ou les institutions d'un lieu du Canada où l'on veut que ce texte s'applique mais que son expression dans l'autre version du texte est compatible avec ce système ou ces institutions, une mention du concept ou de la chose dans le texte sera, dans la mesure où ce texte s'applique à ce lieu du Canada, interprétée comme une mention du concept ou de la chose, exprimée dans la version qui est compatible avec ce système ou ces institutions; et

(d) if the two versions of the enactment differ in a manner not coming within paragraph (c), preference shall be given to the version thereof that, according to the true spirit, intent and meaning of the enactment, best ensures the attainment of its objects. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 8.

d) s'il y a, entre les deux versions du texte législatif, une différence autre que celle mentionnée à l'alinéa c), on donnera la préférence à la version qui, selon l'esprit, l'intention et le sens véritables du texte, assure le mieux la réalisation de ses objets. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 8.

DUTIES OF DEPARTMENTS, ETC., IN RELATION
TO OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

DEVOIRS DES MINISTÈRES, ETC., EN CE QUI A
TRAIT AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

Services to
public in both
languages in
certain
locations

9. (1) Every department and agency of the Government of Canada and every judicial, quasi-judicial or administrative body or Crown corporation established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada has the duty to ensure that within the National Capital Region, at the place of its head or central office in Canada if outside the National Capital Region, and at each of its principal offices in a federal bilingual district established under this Act, members of the public can obtain available services from and can communicate with it in both official languages.

Services to
public in other
locations

(2) Every department and agency of the Government of Canada and every judicial, quasi-judicial or administrative body or Crown corporation established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada has, in addition to but without derogating from the duty imposed upon it by subsection (1), the duty to ensure, to the extent that it is feasible for it to do so, that members of the public in locations other than those referred to in that subsection, where there is a significant demand therefor by such persons, can obtain available services from and can communicate with it in both official languages. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 9.

Services to
travelling pub-
lic in Canada
or elsewhere

10. (1) Every department and agency of the Government of Canada and every Crown corporation established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada has the duty to ensure that, at any office, location or facility in Canada or elsewhere at which any services to the travelling public are provided or made available by it, or by any other person pursuant to a contract for the provision of such services entered into by it or on its behalf on and after the 7th day of September 1969, such services can be provided or made available in both official languages.

Services else-
where than
in Canada

(2) Every department and agency described in subsection (1), and every Crown corporation described therein that is not expressly exempted by order of the Governor in Council from the application of this subsection in respect of any services provid-

Services au
public dans
les deux
langues en
certains
endroits

9. (1) Il incombe aux ministères, départements et organismes du gouvernement du Canada, ainsi qu'aux organismes judiciaires, quasi-judiciaires ou administratifs ou aux corporations de la Couronne créés en vertu d'une loi du Parlement du Canada, de veiller à ce que, dans la région de la Capitale nationale d'une part et, d'autre part, au lieu de leur siège ou bureau central au Canada s'il est situé à l'extérieur de la région de la Capitale nationale, ainsi qu'en chacun de leurs principaux bureaux ouverts dans un district bilingue fédéral créé en vertu de la présente loi, le public puisse communiquer avec eux et obtenir leurs services dans les deux langues officielles.

Services au
public dans
d'autres
endroits

(2) Tout ministère, département, et organisme du gouvernement du Canada et tout organisme judiciaire, quasi-judiciaire ou administratif ou toute corporation de la Couronne créés en vertu d'une loi du Parlement du Canada ont, en sus du devoir que leur impose le paragraphe (1), mais sans y déroger, le devoir de veiller, dans la mesure où il leur est possible de le faire, à ce que le public, dans des endroits autres que ceux mentionnés dans ce paragraphe, lorsqu'il y a de sa part demande importante, puisse communiquer avec eux et obtenir leurs services dans les deux langues officielles. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 9.

Services aux
voyageurs au
Canada ou
ailleurs

10. (1) Il incombe aux ministères, départements et organismes du gouvernement du Canada, ainsi qu'aux corporations de la Couronne, créés en vertu d'une loi du Parlement du Canada, de veiller à ce que, si des services aux voyageurs sont fournis ou offerts dans un bureau ou autre lieu de travail, au Canada ou ailleurs, par ces administrations ou par une autre personne agissant aux termes d'un contrat de fourniture de ces services conclu par elles ou pour leur compte après le 7 septembre 1969, lesdits services puissent y être fournis ou offerts dans les deux langues officielles.

Services
ailleurs qu'au
Canada

(2) Il incombe aux ministères, départements et organismes mentionnés au paragraphe (1), et aux corporations de la Couronne y mentionnées qui ne sont pas expressément exemptées, par décret du gouverneur en conseil, de l'application du présent paragraphe

ed or made available by it, has the duty to ensure that any services to which subsection (1) does not apply that are provided or made available by it at any place elsewhere than in Canada can be so provided or made available in both official languages.

phe relativement à des services fournis ou offerts par eux, de veiller à ce que les services auxquels ne s'applique pas le paragraphe (1), fournis ou offerts par eux partout ailleurs qu'au Canada puissent l'être dans les deux langues officielles.

Exception re
ss. (1)

(3) Subsection (1) does not apply to require that services to the travelling public be provided or made available at any office, location or facility in both official languages if, at that office, location or facility, there is no significant demand for such services in both official languages by members of the travelling public or the demand therefor is so irregular as not to warrant the application of subsection (1) to that office, location or facility. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 10.

(3) Le paragraphe (1) n'exige pas l'emploi des deux langues officielles pour des services aux voyageurs fournis ou offerts dans un bureau ou autre lieu de travail si la demande de services dans les deux langues officielles, de la part des voyageurs, y est faible ou trop irrégulière pour justifier l'application du paragraphe (1). 1968-69, c. 54, art. 10.

Exceptions au
par. (1)

Hearing of
witnesses in
official lan-
guage of
choice

11. (1) Every judicial or quasi-judicial body established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada has, in any proceedings brought or taken before it, and every court in Canada has, in exercising in any proceedings in a criminal matter any criminal jurisdiction conferred upon it by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada, the duty to ensure that any person giving evidence before it may be heard in the official language of his choice, and that in being so heard he will not be placed at a disadvantage by not being or being unable to be heard in the other official language.

11. (1) Dans toutes procédures engagées devant des organismes judiciaires ou quasi-judiciaires créés en vertu d'une loi du Parlement du Canada et dans les procédures pénales où les tribunaux au Canada exercent une juridiction pénale qui leur a été conférée en vertu d'une loi du Parlement du Canada, il incombe à ces organismes et tribunaux de veiller à ce que toute personne témoignant devant eux puisse être entendue dans la langue officielle de son choix et que, ce faisant, elle ne soit pas défavorisée du fait qu'elle n'est pas entendue ou qu'elle est incapable de se faire entendre dans l'autre langue officielle.

Audition des
témoins dans
la langue
officielle de
leur choix

Duty of
federal courts
to provide
simultaneous
translation

(2) Every court of record established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada has, in any proceedings conducted before it within the National Capital Region or a federal bilingual district established under this Act, the duty to ensure that, at the request of any party to the proceedings, facilities are made available for the simultaneous translation of the proceedings, including the evidence given and taken, from one official language into the other except where the court, after receiving and considering any such request, is satisfied that the party making it will not, if such facilities cannot conveniently be made available, be placed at a disadvantage by reason of their not being available or the court, after making every reasonable effort to obtain such facilities, is unable then to obtain them.

(2) Il incombe aux cours d'archives créées en vertu d'une loi du Parlement du Canada de veiller à ce que, à la demande d'une partie à des procédures conduites devant elles, dans la région de la Capitale nationale ou dans un district bilingue fédéral établi en vertu de la présente loi, l'on mette à la disposition de cette partie des services d'interprétation des procédures, notamment pour les témoignages recueillis, d'une langue officielle en l'autre langue. Toutefois, la cour n'y sera pas tenue si, après avoir reçu et examiné une telle demande, elle est convaincue que la partie qui l'a faite ne sera pas défavorisée par l'absence de ces services, s'il est difficile de les mettre à la disposition de cette partie, ou si la cour, après avoir fait tout effort pour les obtenir, n'y est pas parvenue.

Les cours
fédérales sont
tenues de
fournir des
services
d'interpréta-
tion

Language of proceedings in criminal matters

(3) In exercising in any proceedings in a criminal matter any criminal jurisdiction conferred upon it by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada, any court in Canada may in its discretion, at the request of the accused or any of them if there is more than one accused, and if it appears to the court that the proceedings can effectively be conducted and the evidence can effectively be given and taken wholly or mainly in one of the official languages as specified in the request, order that, subject to subsection (1), the proceedings be conducted and the evidence be given and taken in that language.

Application to certain courts

(4) Subsections (1) and (3) do not apply to any court in which, under and by virtue of section 133 of *The British North America Act, 1867*, either of the official languages may be used by any person, and subsection (3) does not apply to the courts of any province until such time as a discretion in those courts or in the judges thereof is provided for by law as to the language in which, for general purposes in that province, proceedings may be conducted in civil causes or matters.

Authority to make implementing rules

(5) The Governor in Council, in the case of any judicial or quasi-judicial body established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada, and the lieutenant governor in council of any province, in the case of any other court in that province, may make such rules governing the procedure in proceedings before such body or court, including rules respecting the giving of notice, as the Governor in Council or the lieutenant governor in council, as the case may be, deems necessary to enable such body or court to exercise or carry out any power or duty conferred or imposed upon it by this section. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 11.

FEDERAL BILINGUAL DISTRICTS

Establishment of federal bilingual districts

12. In accordance with and subject to the provisions of this Act and the terms of any agreement that may be entered into by the Governor in Council with the government of a province as described in section 15, the Governor in Council may from time to time by proclamation establish one or more federal bilingual districts (hereinafter in this Act called "bilingual districts") in a prov-

Langues officielles dans les procédures pénales

(3) Lorsqu'il exerce, dans des procédures pénales, une juridiction pénale qui lui a été conférée en vertu d'une loi du Parlement du Canada, tout tribunal au Canada peut, à sa discrétion, sur demande de l'accusé ou, lorsqu'il y a plus d'un accusé, sur demande de l'un ou plusieurs d'entre eux, ordonner que, sous toutes réserves prévues par le paragraphe (1), les procédures soient conduites et les témoignages fournis et recueillis en la langue officielle spécifiée dans la demande s'il lui paraît que les procédures peuvent être correctement conduites et les témoignages correctement fournis et recueillis, en totalité ou en majeure partie, dans cette langue.

Application à certains tribunaux

(4) Les paragraphes (1) et (3) ne s'appliquent pas à un tribunal devant lequel, en vertu de l'article 133 de l'*Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique, 1867*, quiconque peut utiliser l'une ou l'autre des langues officielles, et le paragraphe (3) ne s'applique pas aux tribunaux d'une province jusqu'à ce que la loi accorde à ces tribunaux ou aux juges de ces tribunaux la liberté de choisir la langue dans laquelle, de façon générale dans cette province, les procédures peuvent être conduites en matière civile.

Pouvoir d'établir des règles d'application

(5) Le gouverneur en conseil, dans le cas d'un organisme judiciaire ou quasi-judiciaire créé en vertu d'une loi du Parlement du Canada, et le lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil d'une province, dans le cas de tout autre tribunal dans cette province, peut établir les règles régissant les procédures devant cet organisme ou ce tribunal, y compris les règles relatives aux notifications, que le gouverneur en conseil ou le lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil, selon le cas, estime nécessaires pour permettre à cet organisme ou à ce tribunal d'exercer toute fonction ou pouvoir qui lui est conféré ou imposé par le présent article. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 11.

DISTRICTS BILINGUES FÉDÉRAUX

Création de districts bilingues fédéraux

12. En conformité des dispositions de la présente loi et des termes de tout accord que peut conclure le gouverneur en conseil avec le gouvernement d'une province, comme le mentionne l'article 15, le gouverneur en conseil peut, à l'occasion, par proclamation, créer dans une province un ou plusieurs districts bilingues fédéraux (ci-après appelés dans la présente loi «districts bilingues») et

ince, and alter the limits of any bilingual districts so established. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 12.

modifier les limites des districts bilingues ainsi créés. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 12.

Delineation of districts

13. (1) A bilingual district established under this Act shall be an area delineated by reference to the boundaries of any or all of the following, namely, a census district established pursuant to the *Statistics Act*, a local government or school district, or a federal or provincial electoral district or region.

13. (1) Un district bilingue créé en vertu de la présente loi est une subdivision administrative délimitée par référence aux limites de l'une, de plusieurs ou de l'ensemble des subdivisions administratives suivantes: un district de recensement créé en conformité de la *Loi sur la statistique*, un district municipal ou scolaire, une circonscription ou région électorale fédérale ou provinciale.

Délimitation des districts

Rules governing establishment of federal bilingual districts

(2) An area described in subsection (1) may be established as a bilingual district or be included in whole or in part within a bilingual district if

(2) Une subdivision visée au paragraphe (1) peut constituer un district bilingue ou être incluse totalement ou partiellement dans le périmètre d'un district bilingue, si

Règles gouvernant la création des districts bilingues fédéraux

(a) both of the official languages are spoken as a mother tongue by persons residing in the area; and

a) les deux langues officielles sont les langues maternelles parlées par les résidents de la subdivision; et si

(b) the number of persons who are in the linguistic minority in the area in respect of an official language spoken as a mother tongue is at least ten per cent of the total number of persons residing in the area.

b) au moins dix pour cent de l'ensemble des résidents de la subdivision parlent une langue maternelle qui est la langue officielle de la minorité linguistique dans la subdivision.

Where services customarily made available in both languages

(3) Notwithstanding subsection (2), where the number of persons in the linguistic minority in an area described in subsection (1) is less than the percentage required under subsection (2), the area may be established as a bilingual district if before the 7th day of September 1969 the services of departments and agencies of the Government of Canada were customarily made available to residents of the area in both official languages.

(3) Nonobstant le paragraphe (2), lorsque le nombre des personnes appartenant à la minorité linguistique, dans une subdivision visée au paragraphe (1), est inférieur au pourcentage requis en vertu du paragraphe (2), la subdivision peut constituer un district bilingue si, avant le 7 septembre 1969, les services des ministères, départements et organismes du gouvernement du Canada étaient couramment mis à la disposition des résidents de la subdivision dans les deux langues officielles.

Cas où les services sont couramment offerts dans les deux langues

Alterations of limits of districts

(4) No alteration of the limits of any bilingual district established under this Act shall be made unless such district would, if the proposed alteration of its limits were made, continue to comply with the requirements of this section respecting the establishment of bilingual districts under this Act.

(4) Aucune modification des limites d'un district bilingue créé en vertu de la présente loi ne sera faite à moins que ce district, en cas de réalisation de la modification proposée, ne continue à satisfaire aux exigences du présent article relatives à la constitution de districts bilingues en vertu de la présente loi.

Modifications des limites des districts

When proclamation may issue

(5) No proclamation establishing or altering the limits of any bilingual district shall be issued under this Act before such time as the Governor in Council has received from a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board appointed as described in section 14 a report setting out its findings and conclusions including its recommendations if any relating thereto and

(5) Aucune proclamation, créant un district bilingue ou modifiant ses limites, ne sera émise en vertu de la présente loi avant que le gouverneur en conseil n'ait reçu du Conseil consultatif des districts bilingues, nommé comme l'indique l'article 14, un rapport énonçant ses constatations et conclusions, et notamment, le cas échéant, les re-

Condition à remplir avant la proclamation

at least ninety days have elapsed from the day a copy of the report was laid before Parliament pursuant to section 17.

commandations y afférentes, ni pendant les quatre-vingt-dix jours qui suivent le dépôt d'un exemplaire du rapport devant le Parlement en conformité de l'article 17.

(6) A proclamation establishing or altering the limits of any bilingual district shall take effect in relation to any such district on such day, not later than twelve months after the issue of the proclamation, as may be fixed therein in relation to that district. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 13.

(6) Une proclamation créant un district bilingue ou modifiant ses limites prendra effet, pour ce district, dans les douze mois de l'émission de la proclamation, à la date fixée dans cette dernière. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 13.

14. (1) As soon as possible following the completion of each decennial census, or, in the case of the decennial census taken in the year 1961, forthwith after the 6th day of September 1969, the Dominion Statistician shall prepare and send to the Clerk of the Privy Council a return certified by him showing the population of each of the provinces and census districts in Canada, categorized according to the official languages spoken as a mother tongue by persons resident therein as ascertained by that census, and as soon as possible thereafter the Governor in Council shall, pursuant to Part I of the *Inquiries Act*, appoint not less than five and not more than ten persons, selected as nearly as may be as being representative of residents of the several provinces or principal regions of Canada, as commissioners to constitute a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board for the purpose of conducting an inquiry as described in section 15.

14. (1) Dès que possible après chaque recensement décennal ou, dans le cas du recensement décennal de 1961, immédiatement après le 6 septembre 1969, le statisticien fédéral dressera et enverra au greffier du Conseil privé un état certifié par lui et indiquant la population de chaque province et district de recensement du Canada, classés d'après les langues officielles qui sont, selon les résultats du recensement, les langues maternelles parlées par les résidents. Dès que possible par la suite, le gouverneur en conseil, en conformité de la Partie I de la *Loi sur les enquêtes*, nommera de cinq à dix commissaires, choisis autant que possible de façon à représenter les résidents des diverses provinces ou des principales régions du Canada, pour constituer un Conseil consultatif des districts bilingues en vue d'effectuer l'enquête visée à l'article 15.

(2) One of the persons appointed as described in subsection (1) shall be designated in the instrument of appointment to act as chairman of the Board.

(2) L'une des personnes nommées comme l'indique le paragraphe (1) doit être désignée dans l'acte de nomination à titre de président du Conseil.

(3) Forthwith upon the appointment of a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, the Clerk of the Privy Council shall send a copy of the return referred to in subsection (1) to the chairman of the Board. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 14.

(3) Immédiatement après la nomination d'un Conseil consultatif des districts bilingues, le greffier du Conseil privé enverra au président du Conseil un exemplaire de l'état mentionné au paragraphe (1). 1968-69, c. 54, art. 14.

15. (1) Upon receipt by the chairman of a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board of the copy of the return referred to in subsection 14(3), the Board shall, with all due dispatch, conduct an inquiry into and concerning the areas of Canada in which one of the official languages is spoken as a mother tongue by persons who are in the linguistic minority in those areas in respect of an

15. (1) Dès que son président aura reçu un exemplaire de l'état mentionné au paragraphe 14(3), le Conseil effectuera avec toute la diligence voulue, dans les subdivisions du Canada où l'une des langues officielles est la langue maternelle parlée par des personnes appartenant à la minorité linguistique de ces subdivisions, une enquête sur ces subdivisions et, après avoir tenu, le cas échéant, les

When proclamation effective

Date d'effet de la proclamation

Establishment of Bilingual Districts Advisory Board

Création du Conseil consultatif des districts bilingues

Chairman

Président

Copy of return to be sent to chairman

Envoi au président d'un exemplaire de l'état

Inquiry and report of Advisory Board

Enquête et rapport du Conseil consultatif

official language, and after holding such public hearings, if any, as it considers necessary and after consultation with the government of each of the provinces in which any such areas are located, prepare and submit to the Governor in Council a report setting out its findings and conclusions including its recommendations if any concerning the establishment of bilingual districts or the alteration of the limits of any existing bilingual districts in accordance with this Act.

audiences publiques qu'il estime nécessaires et après consultation avec le gouvernement de chacune des provinces comprenant de telles subdivisions, il dressera et soumettra au gouverneur en conseil un rapport énonçant ses constatations et conclusions et notamment, le cas échéant, ses recommandations relatives à la création de districts bilingues ou à la modification des limites de districts bilingues existants, conformément à la présente loi.

Agreements to ensure districts
conterminous
with provin-
cial districts

(2) In addition to its duties and powers under the *Inquiries Act* in respect of an inquiry as described in this section, a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board may be charged by the Governor in Council with the negotiation, on behalf of the Governor in Council, of a draft agreement with the government of a province for the purpose of ensuring that, to the greatest practical extent, the limits of any area that may be established as a bilingual district under this Act will be coterminous with any area similarly established or to be established in that province by such government.

(2) Outre les fonctions et pouvoirs que lui confère la *Loi sur les enquêtes* relativement à une enquête visée au présent article, le Conseil consultatif des districts bilingues peut être chargé par le gouverneur en conseil de négocier, pour le compte de ce dernier, avec le gouvernement d'une province, un projet d'accord visant à faire coïncider, dans la mesure où cela ne présente pas trop de difficultés, les limites d'une subdivision pouvant constituer un district bilingue en vertu de la présente loi avec celles d'une subdivision dont ce gouvernement a fait ou doit faire un district bilingue dans cette province.

Accords visant
à faire
coïncider des
districts
bilingues
fédéraux et
provinciaux

Advisory
Board to
have regard
to public
convenience

(3) In carrying out its duties under this section, a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board shall have regard to the convenience of the public in a proposed bilingual district in respect of all the federal, provincial, municipal and educational services provided therein and where necessary recommend to the Governor in Council any administrative changes in federal services in the area that it considers necessary to adapt the area to a provincial or municipal bilingual area, for the greater public convenience of the area or to further the purposes of this Act. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 15.

(3) Dans l'exercice de ses fonctions en vertu du présent article, le Conseil consultatif des districts bilingues tiendra compte, lorsque la création d'un district bilingue est proposée, de la commodité pour le public de tous les services fédéraux, provinciaux, municipaux et éducatifs qui y sont fournis. Au besoin, il recommandera au gouverneur en conseil les modifications administratives qu'il estime nécessaire d'apporter aux services fédéraux de la subdivision considérée pour les adapter à une subdivision provinciale ou municipale bilingue, afin que ces services soient plus commodes pour le public ou qu'ils contribuent davantage à la réalisation des objets de la présente loi. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 15.

Le Conseil
consultatif
tiendra
compte de la
commodité
du public

Duty to assist
Advisory
Board

16. The Dominion Statistician and the Director of the Surveys and Mapping Branch of the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources shall make available their services and the facilities of their respective offices, and render all such other assistance to a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board as may be necessary, in order to enable that Board to discharge its duties under this Act. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 16.

16. Le statisticien fédéral et le directeur des levés et de la cartographie du ministère de l'Énergie, des Mines et des Ressources mettront leurs services et les facilités qu'offrent leurs bureaux respectifs à la disposition du Conseil consultatif des districts bilingues et lui fourniront par ailleurs toute l'aide nécessaire pour lui permettre de s'acquitter de ses fonctions en vertu de la présente loi. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 16.

Obligation
d'aider le
Conseil
consultatif

Report of
Advisory
Board

17. Within fifteen days after the receipt by the Governor in Council of the report of a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board submitted by the chairman thereof pursuant to section 15, or, if Parliament is not then sitting, on any of the first fifteen days next thereafter that Parliament is sitting, the Governor in Council shall cause a copy of the report to be laid before Parliament. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 17.

17. Le gouverneur en conseil fera déposer devant le Parlement un exemplaire du rapport du Conseil consultatif des districts bilingues, soumis par son président en conformité de l'article 15, dans les quinze jours qui suivent sa réception ou, si le Parlement n'est pas alors en session, l'un des quinze premiers jours où il siège par la suite. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 17.

Rapport du
Conseil
consultatif

Preparation
and printing
of maps

18. As soon as possible after the issue of any proclamation establishing or altering the limits of a bilingual district under this Act, the Director of the Surveys and Mapping Branch of the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources shall, in accordance with the descriptions and definitions set out in the proclamation, prepare and print

18. Dès que possible après l'émission d'une proclamation créant un district bilingue ou modifiant ses limites en vertu de la présente loi, le directeur des levés et de la cartographie du ministère de l'Énergie, des Mines et des Ressources, conformément aux descriptions et aux définitions énoncées dans la proclamation, préparera et imprimera

Préparation et
impression des
cartes

(a) individual maps of each bilingual district showing the boundaries of each such district;

a) des cartes distinctes de chaque district bilingue indiquant les limites de chacun de ces districts;

(b) individual maps of each province showing the boundaries of each bilingual district therein; and

b) des cartes distinctes de chaque province, indiquant les limites de chacun des districts bilingues qui s'y trouvent; et

(c) individual maps of each local government or school district, portions of which are in more than one bilingual district. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 18.

c) des cartes distinctes de chaque collectivité locale ou district scolaire qui s'étend sur plus d'un district bilingue. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 18.

COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

COMMISSAIRE DES LANGUES OFFICIELLES

Commissioner
of Official
Languages

19. (1) There shall be a Commissioner of Official Languages for Canada, hereinafter in this Act called the Commissioner.

19. (1) Est institué un poste de commissaire des langues officielles pour le Canada, dont le titulaire est ci-après appelé Commissaire.

Commissaire
des langues
officielles

Appointment

(2) The Commissioner shall be appointed by commission under the Great Seal after approval of the appointment by resolution of the Senate and House of Commons.

(2) Le Commissaire est nommé par commission sous le grand sceau, après approbation de la nomination par résolution du Sénat et de la Chambre des communes.

Nomination

Tenure of
office and
removal

(3) Subject to this section, the Commissioner holds office during good behaviour for a term of seven years, but may be removed by the Governor in Council at any time on address of the Senate and House of Commons.

(3) Sous toutes réserves prévues par le présent article, le Commissaire est nommé pour un mandat de sept ans, pendant lequel il reste en fonctions tant qu'il en est digne; il peut, à tout moment, faire l'objet d'une révocation par le gouverneur en conseil, sur adresse du Sénat et de la Chambre des communes.

Durée du
mandat et
révocation

Further terms

(4) The Commissioner, upon the expiration of his first or any subsequent term of office, is eligible to be re-appointed for a further term not exceeding seven years.

(4) Le mandat du Commissaire est renouvelable pour des périodes d'au plus sept ans chacune.

Mandats
subséquents

Cessation of term of office

(5) The term of office of the Commissioner ceases upon his attaining sixty-five years of age, but he shall continue in office thereafter until his successor is appointed notwithstanding the expiration of such term.

(5) Le mandat du Commissaire expire lorsque son titulaire atteint l'âge de soixante-cinq ans, mais le Commissaire demeure en fonctions jusqu'à la nomination de son successeur, nonobstant l'expiration de son mandat.

Expiration du mandat

Appointment of temporary Commissioner

(6) In the event of the death or resignation of the Commissioner while Parliament is not sitting or if he is unable or neglects to perform the duties of his office, the Governor in Council, after consultation by the Prime Minister with the Speaker of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Commons, may appoint a temporary Commissioner, to hold office for a term not exceeding six months, who shall, while holding such office, have all of the powers and duties of the Commissioner under this Act and be paid such salary or other remuneration and expenses as may be fixed by the Governor in Council. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 19.

(6) En cas de décès ou de démission du Commissaire alors que le Parlement n'est pas en session, ou si le Commissaire est incapable d'exercer les fonctions de sa charge ou les néglige, le gouverneur en conseil, après consultation du président du Sénat et de l'Orateur de la Chambre des communes par le Premier ministre, peut nommer pour six mois au plus un commissaire intérimaire qui aura tous les pouvoirs et fonctions du Commissaire en vertu de la présente loi et percevra le traitement, ou toute autre rémunération, et les frais que peut fixer le gouverneur en conseil. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 19.

Nomination d'un commissaire intérimaire

Rank, powers and duties generally

20. (1) The Commissioner shall rank as and have all the powers of a deputy head of a department, shall devote himself exclusively to the duties of his office and shall not hold any other office under Her Majesty or engage in any other employment.

20. (1) Le Commissaire aura le rang et tous les pouvoirs d'un sous-chef de ministère ou département. Il se consacrera exclusivement aux fonctions de sa charge et il n'occupera aucune autre charge au service de Sa Majesté ni aucun autre emploi.

Disposition générale relative aux rang, pouvoirs et fonctions

Salary and expenses

(2) The Commissioner shall be paid a salary equal to the salary of a puisne judge of the Exchequer Court of Canada, including any additional salary authorized by section 20 of the *Judges Act*, and is entitled to be paid reasonable travelling and living expenses while absent from his ordinary place of residence in the course of his duties. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 20.*

(2) Le Commissaire reçoit un traitement égal à celui d'un juge puiné de la Cour de l'Échiquier du Canada, y compris tout traitement supplémentaire qu'autorise l'article 20 de la *Loi sur les juges*, et il a droit de percevoir des frais raisonnables de voyage et de subsistance lorsqu'il exerce ses fonctions hors de son lieu ordinaire de résidence. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 20.*

Traitement et frais

Staff

21. Such officers and employees as are necessary for the proper conduct of the work of the office of the Commissioner shall be appointed in the manner authorized by law. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 21.

21. Les fonctionnaires et employés nécessaires au bon fonctionnement du service dirigé par le Commissaire sont nommés de la manière autorisée par la loi. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 21.

Personnel

* Subsection 20(2) is repealed and the following substituted therefor:

"(2) The Commissioner shall be paid a salary equal to the salary of a judge of the Federal Court of Canada, other than the Chief Justice or the Associate Chief Justice of that Court, including any additional salary authorized by section 20 of the *Judges Act*, and is entitled to be paid reasonable travelling and living expenses while absent from his ordinary place of residence in the course of his duties."

(Revised Statutes of Canada, 1970, 2nd Supplement, Chap. 10, Schedule II, Item 27.)

*Le paragraphe 20(2) est abrogé et remplacé par ce qui suit:

"(2) Le Commissaire reçoit un traitement égal à celui d'un juge de la Cour fédérale du Canada, autre que le juge en chef ou le juge en chef adjoint de cette cour, y compris tout traitement supplémentaire qu'autorise l'article 20 de la *Loi sur les juges* et il a droit de percevoir des frais raisonnables de voyage et de subsistance lorsqu'il exerce ses fonctions hors de son lieu ordinaire de résidence."

(Statuts révisés du Canada, 1970, 2^e supplément, chap. 10, Annexe II, item 27.)

Technical assistance

22. The Commissioner may engage on a temporary basis the services of persons having technical or specialized knowledge of any matter relating to the work of the Commissioner, to advise and assist the Commissioner in the performance of the duties of his office and, with the approval of the Treasury Board, may fix and pay the remuneration and expenses of such persons. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 22.

22. Pour obtenir, dans l'exercice de ses fonctions, les conseils et l'aide de personnes ayant des connaissances techniques ou spécialisées sur toute question afférente à ses travaux, le Commissaire peut retenir temporairement leurs services et il peut, avec l'approbation du conseil du Trésor, fixer et payer leur rémunération et leurs frais. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 22.

Aide technique

Public Service Superannuation Act

23. The Commissioner and the officers and employees of the Commissioner appointed as provided in section 21 shall be deemed to be persons employed in the Public Service for the purposes of the *Public Service Superannuation Act*. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 23.

23. Le Commissaire et les fonctionnaires et employés nommés en vertu de l'article 21, sont censés être des employés de la Fonction publique aux fins de la *Loi sur la pension de la Fonction publique*. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 23.

Loi sur la pension de la Fonction publique

Functions and duties of Commissioner

24. The Commissioner shall carry out such functions and duties as are assigned to him by this Act or any other Act of the Parliament of Canada, and may carry out or engage in such other related assignments or activities as may be authorized by the Governor in Council. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 24.

24. Le Commissaire exerce les fonctions que lui confèrent la présente loi et toute autre loi du Parlement du Canada, et il peut accomplir ou entreprendre les autres tâches ou activités connexes que peut autoriser le gouverneur en conseil. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 24.

Fonctions du Commissaire

Duty of Commissioner under Act

25. It is the duty of the Commissioner to take all actions and measures within his authority with a view to ensuring recognition of the status of each of the official languages and compliance with the spirit and intent of this Act in the administration of the affairs of the institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada and, for that purpose, to conduct and carry out investigations either on his own initiative or pursuant to any complaint made to him and to report and make recommendations with respect thereto as provided in this Act. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 25.

25. Il incombe au Commissaire de prendre, dans les limites de ses pouvoirs, toutes les mesures propres à faire reconnaître le statut de chacune des langues officielles et à faire respecter l'esprit de la présente loi et l'intention du législateur dans l'administration des affaires des institutions du Parlement et du gouvernement du Canada. À cette fin, il procédera à des instructions, soit de sa propre initiative, soit à la suite des plaintes reçues par lui et fera les rapports et recommandations prévus en l'occurrence par la présente loi. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 25.

Devoirs du Commissaire en vertu de la loi

Investigation of complaints

26. (1) Subject to this Act, the Commissioner shall investigate any complaint made to him to the effect that, in any particular instance or case.

26. (1) Sous toutes réserves prévues par la présente loi, le Commissaire instruira toute plainte reçue par lui et énonçant que, dans un cas particulier,

Instruction des plaintes

(a) the status of an official language was not or is not being recognized, or

a) le statut d'une langue officielle n'a pas été ou n'est pas reconnu, ou

(b) the spirit and intent of this Act was not or is not being complied with

b) l'esprit de la présente loi et l'intention du législateur n'ont pas été ou ne sont pas respectés

in the administration of the affairs of any of the institutions of the Parliament or Government of Canada.

dans l'administration des affaires de l'une des institutions du Parlement ou du gouvernement du Canada.

Who may
make com-
plaint

(2) A complaint may be made to the Commissioner by any person or group of persons, whether or not they speak or represent a group speaking the official language the status or use of which is at issue.

(2) Une plainte peut être déposée devant le Commissaire par toute personne ou tout groupe de personnes, soit que ces personnes parlent ou non la langue officielle dont le statut ou l'emploi sont en cause, soit qu'elles représentent ou non un groupe parlant cette langue.

Qui peut
déposer une
plainte

Discontinu-
ance of
investigation

(3) If in the course of investigating any complaint it appears to the Commissioner that, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, any further investigation is unnecessary, he may in his discretion refuse to investigate the matter further.

(3) Si, au cours de l'instruction d'une plainte, le Commissaire estime, compte tenu de toutes les circonstances de l'affaire, qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de poursuivre l'instruction, il peut, à sa discrétion, refuser d'instruire l'affaire plus avant.

Arrêt de
l'instruction

Right of
Commissioner
to refuse
or cease
investigation

(4) The Commissioner may, in his discretion, refuse to investigate or cease to investigate any complaint if in his opinion

(4) Le Commissaire peut, à sa discrétion, refuser ou cesser d'instruire une plainte si, à son avis,

Le Commis-
saire a le
droit de
refuser ou
de cesser
d'instruire

(a) the subject-matter of the complaint is trivial,

a) l'objet de la plainte est sans importance,

(b) the complaint is frivolous or vexatious or is not made in good faith, or

b) la plainte est futile ou vexatoire ou n'a pas été faite de bonne foi, ou

(c) the subject-matter of the complaint does not involve a contravention or failure to comply with the spirit and intent of this Act, or does not for any other reason come within his authority under this Act.

c) l'objet de la plainte n'implique pas une contravention à la présente loi ou une chose contraire à son esprit et à l'intention du législateur ou, pour toute autre raison, ne relève pas de la compétence que lui confère la présente loi.

Complainant
to be notified

(5) Where the Commissioner decides to refuse to investigate or cease to investigate any complaint, he shall inform the complainant of his decision and shall give his reasons therefor. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 26.

(5) Si le Commissaire décide de refuser ou de cesser d'instruire une plainte, il informera le plaignant de sa décision et devra donner les raisons qui la motivent. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 26.

Avis au
plaignant

Notice of
intention to
investigate

27. Before carrying out any investigation under this Act, the Commissioner shall inform the deputy head or other administrative head of any department or other institution concerned of his intention to carry out the investigation. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 27.

27. Avant de procéder à une instruction en vertu de la présente loi, le Commissaire fera connaître, au sous-chef ou autre chef administratif de tout ministère ou département ou de toute autre institution en cause, son intention de procéder à l'instruction. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 27.

Préavis de
l'instruction

Investigation
to be con-
ducted in
private

28. (1) Every investigation by the Commissioner under this Act shall be conducted in private.

28. (1) Toute instruction effectuée par le Commissaire en vertu de la présente loi sera secrète.

L'instruction
est secrète

Opportunity
to answer
allegations
and criticisms

(2) It is not necessary for the Commissioner to hold any hearing and no person is entitled as of right to be heard by the Commissioner, but if at any time during the course of an investigation it appears to the Commissioner that there may be sufficient grounds for his making a report or recommendation that may adversely affect any individual or any department or other in-

(2) Le Commissaire n'est pas obligé de tenir d'audience, et personne ne peut, de plein droit, exiger d'être entendu par lui. Toutefois, si au cours d'une instruction, le Commissaire estime qu'il peut y avoir des motifs suffisants pour faire un rapport ou une recommandation susceptibles de nuire à un particulier ou à un ministère, un département ou une autre institution, il prendra,

Possibilité de
répondre aux
allégations et
aux critiques

stitution, he shall, before completing the investigation, take every reasonable measure to give to that individual, department or institution a full and ample opportunity to answer any adverse allegation or criticism, and to be assisted or represented by counsel for that purpose. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 28.

avant de terminer l'instruction, toute mesure raisonnable pour donner à ce particulier, ce ministère, ce département ou cette institution pleine et entière possibilité de répondre aux allégations défavorables ou aux critiques et, à cette fin, de se faire assister ou représenter par un avocat. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 28.

Regulation of procedure

29. (1) Subject to this Act, the Commissioner may regulate the procedure to be followed by him in carrying out any investigation under this Act.

29. (1) Sous toutes réserves prévues par la présente loi, le Commissaire peut établir les règles de procédure qu'il suivra lors de toute instruction faite en vertu de la présente loi.

Règles de procédure

Receiving and obtaining of information by officer designated

(2) The Commissioner may direct that information relating to any investigation under this Act be received or obtained, in whole or in part, by any officer of the Commissioner appointed as provided in section 21 and such officer shall, subject to such restrictions or limitations as the Commissioner may specify, have all the powers and duties of the Commissioner under this Act in relation to the receiving or obtaining of such information.

(2) Le Commissaire peut ordonner que les renseignements relatifs à une instruction faite en vertu de la présente loi soient reçus ou obtenus, en tout ou en partie, par un fonctionnaire nommé en vertu de l'article 21. Ce fonctionnaire aura, sous réserve des restrictions ou limitations que peut spécifier le Commissaire, toutes les attributions conférées au Commissaire par la présente loi en ce qui concerne la réception ou l'obtention de ces renseignements.

Réception et obtention de renseignements par un fonctionnaire désigné

Compliance with security requirements

(3) The Commissioner shall require every person employed in his office who is directed by him to receive or obtain information relating to any investigation under this Act to comply with any security requirements applicable to, and to take any oath of secrecy required to be taken by, persons employed in any department or other institution concerned in the matter of the investigation. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 29.

(3) Le Commissaire exigera que toute personne, employée dans son bureau et à laquelle il ordonne de recevoir ou d'obtenir des renseignements concernant une instruction faite en vertu de la présente loi, se conforme aux exigences de sécurité applicables aux personnes employées dans un ministère, un département ou une autre institution que l'objet de l'instruction concerne et prête tout serment professionnel qu'elle est tenue de prêter. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 29.

Exigences de sécurité

Powers of Commissioner in carrying out investigations

30. The Commissioner has, in relation to the carrying out of any investigation under this act, power

30. Lorsqu'il procède à une instruction en vertu de la présente loi, le Commissaire a le pouvoir

Pouvoirs du Commissaire lorsqu'il procède à une instruction

- (a) to summon and enforce the attendance of witnesses and compel them to give oral or written evidence on oath, and to produce such documents and things as the Commissioner deems requisite to the full investigation and consideration of any matter within his authority under this Act, in the same manner and to the same extent as a superior court of record;
- (b) to administer oaths;
- (c) to receive and accept such evidence and other information whether on oath or by affidavit or otherwise as in his

- a) de convoquer des témoins et de les obliger à comparaître et à déposer sous serment ou à fournir sous serment des preuves écrites ainsi qu'à produire les documents et autres pièces qu'il estime indispensables pour instruire et examiner à fond toute question relevant de sa compétence en vertu de la présente loi, de la même manière et dans la même mesure qu'une cour supérieure d'archives;
- b) de faire prêter serment;
- c) de recevoir et d'accepter, dans la mesure où il le juge à propos, les dépositions

discretion he sees fit, whether or not such evidence or information is or would be admissible in a court of law; and

(d) subject to such limitations as the Governor in Council in the interests of defence or security may prescribe, to enter any premises occupied by any department or other institution of the Parliament or Government of Canada and carry out therein such inquiries within his authority under this Act as he sees fit. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 30.

faites et les preuves et autres renseignements fournis sous serment, par affidavit ou autrement, que ces dépositions, preuves ou renseignements soient admissibles ou non devant un tribunal judiciaire; et

d) sous réserve des restrictions que peut prescrire le gouverneur en conseil dans l'intérêt de la défense ou de la sécurité, de pénétrer en tout lieu occupé par un ministère, un département ou une autre institution du Parlement ou du gouvernement du Canada et d'y faire, dans les limites de la compétence que lui confère la présente loi, les enquêtes qu'il juge à propos. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 30.

Conclusion of investigation

31. (1) This section applies where, after carrying out any investigation under this Act, the Commissioner is of the opinion that an act or omission that was the subject of the investigation is or was or appears to be or have been

(a) contrary to the provisions of this Act;

(b) contrary to the spirit and intent of this Act but in accordance with the provisions of any other Act of the Parliament of Canada or any regulations thereunder, or in accordance with a practice that leads or is likely to lead to any involuntary contravention of this Act; or

(c) based wholly or partly on mistake or inadvertence.

31. (1) Le présent article s'applique lorsque, après avoir procédé à une instruction en vertu de la présente loi, le Commissaire est d'avis que l'acte ou l'omission qui ont fait l'objet de l'instruction sont, étaient ou paraissent être ou avoir été

a) contraires aux dispositions de la présente loi;

b) contraires à l'esprit de la présente loi et à l'intention du législateur mais conformes aux dispositions de toute autre loi du Parlement du Canada ou de tout règlement y afférent, ou conformes à une pratique qui conduit ou risque de conduire à une contravention involontaire à la présente loi; ou

c) fondés en tout ou en partie sur l'erreur ou l'inattention.

Clôture de l'instruction

Opinion and reasons to be reported

(2) Where the Commissioner is of opinion

(a) that the act or omission that was the subject of the investigation should be referred to any department or other institution concerned for consideration and action if necessary,

(b) that any Act or regulations thereunder described in paragraph (1)(b) should be reconsidered or any practice described in that paragraph should be altered or discontinued, or

(c) that any other action should be taken,

(2) Si le Commissaire est d'avis

a) que la question soulevée par l'acte ou l'omission qui ont fait l'objet de l'instruction doit être renvoyée à un ministère, un département ou une autre institution en cause pour examen et suite à donner si nécessaire,

b) qu'une loi ou des règlements y afférents, visés à l'alinéa (1)b), doivent être reconsidérés ou qu'une pratique visée dans cet alinéa doit être modifiée ou abandonnée, ou

c) qu'une autre mesure doit être prise,

Avis et raisons donnés dans un rapport

the Commissioner shall report his opinion and his reasons therefor to the Clerk of the Privy Council and the deputy head or other administrative head of any department or other institution concerned and may in his

le Commissaire fera, au greffier du Conseil privé et au sous-chef ou autre chef administratif du ministère, du département ou de toute autre institution en cause, un rapport dans lequel il donnera son avis et les raisons

report make such recommendations with respect thereto as he thinks fit, and, in any such case, may request the department or other institution concerned to notify him within a specified time of the action, if any, that it proposes to take to give effect to his recommendations. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 31.

qui le motivent. Il pourra y faire les recommandations qu'il juge appropriées et, en l'occurrence, demander au ministère, au département ou à toute autre institution en cause de l'aviser, dans un délai spécifié, des mesures qu'ils se proposent de prendre, le cas échéant, pour donner effet à ses recommandations. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 31.

Where investigation carried out pursuant to complaint

32. In the case of an investigation carried out by the Commissioner pursuant to any complaint made to him, the Commissioner shall inform the complainant, and any individual, department or institution by whom or on whose behalf any answer relating to the complaint has been made pursuant to subsection 28(2), in such manner and at such time as he thinks proper, of the results of the investigation and, where any recommendations have been made by the Commissioner under section 31 but no action that seems to him to be adequate and appropriate is taken thereon within a reasonable time after the making of the recommendations, he may inform the complainant of his recommendations and make such comments thereon as he thinks proper and, in any such case, shall provide a copy of such recommendations and comments to any individual whom he is required by this section to inform of the results of the investigation. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 32.

32. Dans le cas d'une instruction à laquelle le Commissaire a procédé à la suite d'une plainte reçue par lui, le Commissaire communiquera au plaignant, et aux particuliers, ministères, départements ou institutions par lesquels ou pour lesquels une réponse relative à la plainte a été faite en conformité du paragraphe 28(2), les résultats de l'instruction, de la manière et au moment qu'il estime convenables et, lorsque des recommandations ont été faites par le Commissaire en vertu de l'article 31, mais qu'aucune mesure lui paraissant suffisante et appropriée n'est prise dans un délai raisonnable après la communication de ses recommandations, il peut communiquer au plaignant ses recommandations et faire à leur sujet les commentaires qu'il juge à propos et, en ce cas, il doit fournir une copie de ces recommandations et commentaires aux particuliers auxquels le présent article l'oblige à communiquer les résultats de l'instruction. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 32.

Instruction à la suite d'une plainte

Report to Parliament where appropriate action not taken

33. (1) If within a reasonable time after the making of a report containing any recommendations under section 31, no action is taken thereon that seems to the Commissioner to be adequate and appropriate, the Commissioner, in his discretion and after considering any reply made by or on behalf of any department or other institution concerned, may transmit a copy of the report and recommendations to the Governor in Council and may thereafter make such report thereon to Parliament as he deems appropriate.

33. (1) Si aucune mesure lui paraissant suffisante et appropriée n'est prise dans un délai raisonnable après la communication d'un rapport contenant des recommandations faites en vertu de l'article 31, le Commissaire, à sa discrétion et après avoir examiné toute réponse faite par un ministère, un département ou une autre institution en cause, ou pour leur compte, peut transmettre au gouverneur en conseil, un exemplaire du rapport et des recommandations et il peut, par la suite, faire à ce sujet au Parlement le rapport qu'il juge approprié.

A défaut de mesures suffisantes, rapport au Parlement

Contents of report

(2) The Commissioner may disclose in any report made by him under this section such matters as in his opinion ought to be disclosed in order to establish the grounds for his conclusions and recommendations, but in so doing shall take every reasonable precaution to avoid disclosing any matter the disclosure of which would or might be prejudicial to the defence or security of Canada or any state allied or associated with Canada.

(2) Le Commissaire peut divulguer, dans tout rapport établi par lui en vertu du présent article, ce qui, à son avis, doit être divulgué pour fonder ses conclusions et recommandations mais il doit, ce faisant, prendre toutes précautions raisonnables pour éviter toute divulgation qui porterait ou pourrait porter préjudice à la défense ou à la sécurité du Canada ou de tout État allié ou associé.

Contenu du rapport

Reply to be
attached to
report

(3) The Commissioner shall attach to every report made by him under this section a copy of any reply made by or on behalf of any department or other institution concerned. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 33.

(3) Le Commissaire joindra à tout rapport, établi par lui en vertu du présent article, une copie des réponses faites par un ministère, un département ou une autre institution en cause, ou pour leur compte. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 33.

Réponse à
joindre au
rapport

Annual report

34. (1) In addition to any report that may be made by him under section 33, the Commissioner shall each year prepare and submit to Parliament a statement relating to the conduct of his office and the discharge of his duties under this Act during the preceding year including his recommendations, if any, for any proposed changes in this Act that he deems necessary or desirable in order that effect may be given to this Act according to its spirit and intent.

34. (1) Outre les rapports faits par lui en vertu de l'article 33, le Commissaire établira et soumettra chaque année au Parlement une déclaration relative à l'exercice de ses fonctions en vertu de la présente loi au cours de l'année précédente. Il inclura, le cas échéant, les recommandations par lesquelles il propose d'apporter à la présente loi les modifications qu'il estime nécessaires ou souhaitables pour permettre de donner effet à la présente loi conformément à son esprit et à l'intention du législateur.

Rapport
annuel

Transmission
of report

(2) Every report or statement to Parliament made by the Commissioner under section 33 or this section shall be made by being transmitted to the Speaker of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Commons for tabling respectively in those Houses.

(2) La soumission des rapports et déclarations que le Commissaire fait au Parlement en vertu de l'article 33 ou du présent article, se fera par transmission au président du Sénat et à l'Orateur de la Chambre des communes qui les déposeront devant leurs Chambres respectives.

Transmission
des rapports

Combining of
reports

(3) The Commissioner may, instead of making a separate report to Parliament under section 33 on the matter of any investigation carried out by him under this Act, include such report in his annual statement to Parliament made under this section unless, in his opinion, the nature of the report is such that it ought to be brought to the attention of Parliament without delay. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 34.

(3) Au lieu de faire au Parlement, en vertu de l'article 33, un rapport sur chaque instruction à laquelle il a procédé en vertu de la présente loi, le Commissaire peut inclure ce rapport dans la déclaration annuelle qu'il fait au Parlement en vertu du présent article, sauf si, à son avis, la nature du rapport est telle qu'il y a lieu de le porter sans retard à l'attention du Parlement. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 34.

Inclusion du
rapport dans
la déclaration
annuelle

GENERAL

DISPOSITIONS GÉNÉRALES

Regulations

35. The Governor in Council may make such regulations as he deems necessary to effect compliance with this Act in the conduct of the affairs of the Government of Canada and departments and agencies of the Government of Canada. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 35.

35. Le gouverneur en conseil peut établir les règlements qu'il estime nécessaires pour assurer le respect de la présente loi dans la conduite des affaires du gouvernement du Canada et de ses ministères, départements et organismes. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 35.

Règlements

INTERPRETATION

INTERPRÉTATION

Definitions

36. (1) In this Act

36. (1) Dans la présente loi

Définitions

"court of
record"

"court of record" means any body that, under the Act by or pursuant to which it is

«corporation de la Couronne» désigne une corporation de la Couronne définie à la

«corporation
de la
Couronne»

established, is or is declared to be a court of record;

"Crown corporation"

"Crown corporation" means a Crown corporation as defined in Part VIII of the *Financial Administration Act*;

"enactment"

"enactment" means any Act of the Parliament of Canada including this Act and any rule, order, regulation, by-law or proclamation described in section 4;

"National Capital Region"

"National Capital Region" means the National Capital Region described in the schedule to the *National Capital Act*.

"Mother tongue"

(2) For the purposes of this Act, the "mother tongue" spoken by persons in any area of Canada means, in relation to any determination thereof required to be made under this Act, the language first learned in childhood by such persons and still understood by them, as ascertained by the decennial census taken immediately preceding the determination.

Reference to institutions

(3) For the purposes of this Act, a reference to the institutions or any of the institutions of the Parliament or Government of Canada shall be deemed to include the Canadian Forces and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

S. 115 of *Criminal Code* not applicable

(4) For greater certainty it is hereby declared that section 115 of the *Criminal Code* does not apply to or in respect of any contravention or alleged contravention of any provision of this Act. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 36.

References in Acts of Parliament to the "official languages"

37. In every Act of the Parliament of Canada, a reference to the "official languages" or the "official languages of Canada" shall be construed as a reference to the languages declared by section 2 of this Act to be the official languages of Canada for all purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 37.

Rights and privileges respecting other languages

38. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as derogating from or diminishing in any way any legal or customary right or privilege acquired or enjoyed either before or after

Partie VIII de la *Loi sur l'administration financière*;

«cour d'archives» désigne un organisme qui, aux termes de la loi en vertu de laquelle il est créé, est, ou est déclaré être, une cour d'archives;

«cour d'archives»

«région de la Capitale nationale» désigne la région de la Capitale nationale délimitée à l'annexe de la *Loi sur la Capitale nationale*;

«région de la Capitale nationale»

«texte législatif» désigne toute loi du Parlement du Canada, y compris la présente loi, ainsi qu'une règle, une ordonnance, un décret, un règlement ou une proclamation visés à l'article 4.

«texte législatif»

(2) Aux fins de la présente loi, la «langue maternelle» parlée par des résidents d'une subdivision du Canada désigne, dans tous les cas où la présente loi exige qu'elle soit déterminée, la langue que ces personnes ont apprise en premier lieu dans leur enfance et qu'elles comprennent encore, selon les constatations faites à l'occasion du recensement décennal immédiatement antérieur à la détermination.

«Langue maternelle»

(3) Aux fins de la présente loi, la mention des institutions du Parlement ou du gouvernement du Canada est censée inclure les Forces canadiennes et la Gendarmerie royale du Canada.

Mention des institutions

(4) Pour plus de certitude, il est par les présentes déclaré que l'article 115 du *Code criminel* ne s'applique pas en ce qui concerne une infraction ou une infraction alléguée à toute disposition de la présente loi. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 36.

L'art. 115 du *Code criminel* ne s'applique pas

37. Dans toutes les lois du Parlement du Canada, la mention des «langues officielles» ou des «langues officielles du Canada» sera interprété comme une mention des langues que l'article 2 de la présente loi déclare être les langues officielles du Canada pour tout ce qui relève du Parlement et du gouvernement du Canada. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 37.

Mention des «langues officielles» dans les lois du Parlement

38. Aucune des dispositions de la présente loi ne sera interprétée comme affectant ou diminuant de quelque manière les droits ou privilèges acquis ou possédés en vertu de

Les droits et privilèges afférents aux autres langues

the 7th day of September 1969 with respect to any language that is not an official language. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 38.

la loi ou de la coutume soit avant, soit après le 7 septembre 1969, en ce qui concerne les langues autres que les langues officielles. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 38.

ORDERLY ADAPTATION TO ACT

ADAPTATION PROGRESSIVE À LA LOI

Authority to defer or suspend immediate application of Act

39. (1) Where upon the submission of any Minister it is established to the satisfaction of the Governor in Council that the immediate application of any provision of this Act to any department or other institution of the Parliament or Government of Canada (hereinafter in this section called an "authority") or in respect of any service provided or made available by it

- (a) would unduly prejudice the interests of the public served by the authority, or
- (b) would be seriously detrimental to the good government of the authority, employer and employee relations or the effective management of its affairs,

the Governor in Council may by order defer or suspend the application of any such provision to the authority or in respect of any such service for such period, not exceeding sixty months from the 6th day of September 1969, as the Governor in Council deems necessary or expedient.

Terms of order and directions

(2) Any order made under this section may contain such directions and be subject to such terms and conditions as the Governor in Council deems appropriate to ensure the earliest possible application of any deferred or suspended provision provided for in the order, and in addition may prescribe different periods, not exceeding in any case the maximum period provided for under subsection (1), for different operations carried on or services performed or made available by the authority, to or in respect of which the application of any such provision is deferred or suspended.

Order to be laid before Parliament

(3) A copy of any order made under this section, together with a report thereon by the Governor in Council setting forth concisely the reasons for its making, shall be laid before Parliament within fifteen days after the making of the order or, if Parliament is not then sitting, on any of the first fifteen days next thereafter that Parliament is sitting.

Pouvoir de différer ou suspendre l'application de la loi

39. (1) Lorsque, à la suite des observations d'un ministre, il est établi à la satisfaction du gouverneur en conseil que l'application immédiate d'une disposition de la présente loi à un ministère, un département ou une autre institution du Parlement ou du gouvernement du Canada (que le présent article désigne ci-après sous le nom d'«autorité») ou à un service fourni ou offert par eux

- a) nuirait indûment aux intérêts du public desservi par l'autorité, ou
- b) nuirait sérieusement à l'administration de l'autorité, aux relations entre employeur et employés ou à la gestion de ses affaires,

le gouverneur en conseil peut, par décret, différer ou suspendre l'application d'une telle disposition à cette autorité ou à ce service pendant la période, comprise dans les soixante mois suivant le 6 septembre 1969, que le gouverneur en conseil juge nécessaire ou opportune.

Modalités et directives du décret

(2) Un décret rendu en vertu du présent article peut contenir les directives et être assujéti aux modalités que le gouverneur en conseil estime appropriées pour faire appliquer le plus rapidement possible toute disposition différée ou suspendue par le décret. Il peut en outre prescrire, sans jamais dépasser la période maximale prévue par le paragraphe (1), différentes périodes pour différentes opérations effectuées par l'autorité ou pour différents services rendus ou offerts par elle, lorsque l'application d'une telle disposition à ces opérations ou services est différée ou suspendue.

Dépôt du décret au Parlement

(3) Un exemplaire d'un décret rendu en vertu du présent article, ainsi qu'un rapport du gouverneur en conseil relatif à ce décret et énonçant brièvement les raisons pour lesquelles il a été rendu, seront déposés au Parlement dans les quinze jours de la date du décret, ou, si le Parlement n'est pas alors en session, l'un des quinze premiers jours où il siégera par la suite.

Duty in
relation to
appointment
and
advancement
of personnel

(4) In relation to the appointment and advancement in employment of personnel the duties of whose positions include duties relating to the provision of services by authorities to members of the public, it is the duty

- (a) of the Public Service Commission, in cases where it has the authority to make appointments, and
- (b) of the authority concerned, in all other cases,

to ensure that, in the exercise and performance of the powers, duties and functions conferred or imposed upon it by law, due account is taken of the purposes and provisions of this Act, subject always to the maintenance of the principle of selection of personnel according to merit as required by the *Public Service Employment Act*. 1968-69, c. 54, s. 40.

(4) En ce qui concerne la nomination et l'avancement du personnel dont les postes comportent des fonctions relatives à la fourniture de services au public par des autorités, il incombe

- a) à la Commission de la Fonction publique, dans les cas où elle exerce l'autorité de faire des nominations, et,
- b) dans tous les autres cas, à l'autorité intéressée,

de veiller à ce que, dans l'exercice des pouvoirs et fonctions qui lui sont imposés ou conférés par la loi, il est dûment tenu compte des objets et des dispositions de la présente loi, mais toujours sous réserve du maintien du principe de la sélection du personnel établie au mérite comme l'exige la *Loi sur l'emploi dans la Fonction publique*. 1968-69, c. 54, art. 40.

Nomination et
avancement
du personnel

Appendix 2

P.C. 1972-1125

25 May, 1972

WHEREAS the Clerk of the Privy Council has received from the Chief Statistician, pursuant to subsection 14(1) of the Official Languages Act, a return certified by him showing the population of each of the provinces and census districts in Canada, categorized according to the official languages spoken as a mother tongue by persons resident therein as ascertained by the 1971 census.

THEREFORE, HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State, pursuant to subsection 14(1) of the Official Languages Act and part I of the Inquiries Act, is pleased hereby to direct that the following persons be appointed as commissioners to constitute a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board to exercise and perform the powers and duties conferred upon a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board by the Official Languages Act:

Mr. Harry Hickman, Victoria, British Columbia

Mr. Léopold Lamontagne, Ottawa, Ontario

Mr. Paul Fox, Toronto, Ontario

Mr. Albert Regimbal, Sudbury, Ontario

Mr. (Justice) Alfred Monnin, St-Boniface, Manitoba

Mrs. A. W. R. Carrothers, Calgary, Alberta

Ms. Eleanor Duckworth, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Mr. Adélarde Savoie, Moncton, New Brunswick

Mr. William F. Mackey, Ste-Foy, Quebec

Mrs. Yvonne R. Raymond, Montreal, Quebec

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL is further pleased, pursuant to subsection 14(2) of the Official Languages Act, to direct that Mr. Paul Fox be designated as Chairman of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL is further pleased to direct that:

- (a) the Commissioners be authorized to exercise all the powers conferred on them by section 11 of the Inquiries Act;
- (b) the Commissioners be authorized to sit at such times and at such places as they may decide from time to time;
- (c) the Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisers as they may require, at rates of remuneration and reimbursement approved by the Treasury Board; and
- (d) the Commissioners shall file with the Dominion Archivist the papers and records of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board after the conclusion of the inquiry.

CERTIFIED TO BE A TRUE COPY—COPIE CERTIFIÉE
CONFORME

R. G. ROBERTSON

CLERK OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL—LE GREFFIER DU
CONSEIL PRIVÉ

Appendix 3

List of Meetings of the Board, and of the Places and Dates of Visits and Consultations

(a) Plenary Meetings of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board

June 28 and 29, 1972	
August 14 and 15, 1972	
September 22 and 23, 1972	
November 3 and 4, 1972	
January 12 and 13, 1973	
February 16 and 17, 1973	
March 23 and 24, 1973	
April 27 and 28, 1973	
May 25 and 26, 1973	
June 22 and 23, 1973	
July 20 and 21, 1973	
September 14 and 15, 1973	
October 12, 13 and 14, 1973*	
November 9 and 10, 1973	
December 16 and 17, 1973	
March 8 and 9, 1974	
June 14 and 15, 1974	
November 8 and 9, 1974	

(b) Meetings with Members of Parliament

(Consultations with Members of Parliament representing the electoral districts noted were held in Ottawa unless otherwise indicated.)

Newfoundland

Humber—St. George's— St. Barbe	July 19, 1973
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Prince Edward Island

Egmont	December 13, 1973
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Nova Scotia

South Western Nova (meeting in Digby, N.S.)	December 12, 1972
Cape Breton Highlands— Canso	November 23, 1973

New Brunswick

Gloucester	November 22, 1973
Madawaska—Victoria	November 22, 1973
Northumberland—Miramichi	November 22, 1973
Restigouche	November 22, 1973
Westmorland—Kent	November 22, 1973
Carleton—Charlotte	December 12, 1973
Fundy—Royal	December 12, 1973
Moncton	December 12, 1973
Saint John—Lancaster	December 12, 1973
York—Sunbury	December 12, 1973

Quebec

Lachine—Lakeshore	January 21, 1973
Beauharnois—Salaberry	August 13, 1973
Laprairie	August 13, 1973
Brome—Missisquoi (meeting in Knowlton, Que.)	August 22, 1973
Westmount	December 2, 1973
Gatineau	December 13, 1973
Pontiac	December 13, 1973
Gamelin	December 14, 1973
Laval	December 14, 1973
Montreal—Bourassa	December 14, 1973
Vaudreuil	December 14, 1973
Saint-Michel	January 21, 1974
Hochelaga	December 12, 1974

Ontario

Cochrane	July 19, 1973
Sudbury	July 19, 1973
Algoma	November 9, 1973
Thunder Bay	November 9, 1973
Renfrew North—Nipissing East	November 23, 1973
Windsor—Walkerville	November 23 and December 20, 1973
Davenport	December 14, 1973

Manitoba

Brandon—Souris	July 19, 1973
Dauphin	July 19, 1973
Marquette	July 19, 1973
Portage	July 19, 1973
Provencher	July 19, 1973
Winnipeg South Centre	July 19, 1973
St. Boniface	November 6, 1973

* All meetings were held in Ottawa with the exception of the October 1973 meeting which was held in Val-David, Que.

Saskatchewan

Battleford—Kindersley June 21, 1973

Alberta

Athabasca June 21, 1973
 Edmonton West June 21, 1973
 Peace River June 21, 1973
 Pembina June 21, 1973
 Wetaskiwin June 21, 1973

(c) Meetings with Representatives of Each Provincial Government

Newfoundland St. John's, July 4, 1973

Prince Edward Island Charlottetown, February 19, 1973

Nova Scotia Yarmouth, December 10-11, 1972
 Church Point, December 12, 1972
 Halifax, November 8, 1973

New Brunswick Fredericton, February 26, 1973

Quebec Montreal, February 26, 1973
 Montreal, January 21, 1974

Ontario Toronto, September 17, 1973

Manitoba Winnipeg, April 9, 1973

Saskatchewan Regina, April 10, 1973

Alberta Edmonton, June 29, 1973
 Edmonton, October 9, 1973

British Columbia Victoria, April 2, 1973

(d) Meetings with Other Groups and Individuals**Newfoundland**

Churchill Falls, Labrador November 13-14, 1972
 Wabush, Labrador City, November 14, 1972
 Labrador
 (two meetings)
 Stephenville November 17, 1972
 De Grau November 17, 1972

Prince Edward Island

Summerside February 20, 1973

Nova Scotia

Yarmouth December 10, 1972
 Yarmouth (six meetings) December 11, 1972
 Church Point December 12, 1972
 Digby (three meetings) December 12-13, 1972
 Antigonish May 16, 1973
 Arichat May 16, 1973
 Chéticamp May 17, 1973
 Port Hawkesbury May 17, 1973
 Port Hood May 17, 1973

New Brunswick

Fredericton February 25-26, 1973

Quebec

Schefferville (five meetings) November 15-16, 1972
 Montreal (three meetings) May 7, 1973
 Lennoxville May 14, 1973
 Sherbrooke (two meetings) May 14-15, 1973
 Montreal (seven meetings) June 11-12, 1973
 Quebec (three meetings) June 13-14, 1973
 Gaspé July 9, 1973
 Shigawake July 9, 1973
 Blanc-Sablon July 10, 1973
 Harrington Harbour July 10, 1973
 Rouyn/Noranda August 14-15, 1973
 (three meetings)
 Châteauguay-Centre August 20, 1973
 Huntingdon August 20, 1973
 Ormstown August 20, 1973
 Brownsburg August 21, 1973
 Cité de Deux-Montagnes August 21, 1973
 Lachute August 21, 1973
 Cowansville August 22, 1973
 Campbell's Bay September 10, 1973
 Fort Coulonge September 13, 1973
 Shawville September 13, 1973
 Montreal November 8, 1973

Ontario

Windsor/Chatham April 15-16, 1973
 (three meetings)
 Paincourt April 16, 1973
 Toronto April 29, 1973
 Crysler June 7, 1973
 Marionville June 7, 1973
 Winchester June 7, 1973
 Sudbury (two meetings) August 12, 1973
 Sault Ste. Marie August 13, 1973
 (two meetings)

Thunder Bay (two meetings)	August 13, 1973	Falher	February 5, 1973
Geraldton/Longlac	August 14, 1973	Jean Côté	February 5, 1973
Kapuskasing	August 14, 1973	Peace River (two meetings)	February 5, 1973
Manitoba		Donnelly, Girouxville, Debolt	February 6, 1973
St. Boniface	April 8, 1973	Edmonton	February 6, 1973
Ste. Anne	April 9, 1973	Edmonton (two meetings)	April 2, 1973
Saskatchewan		Legal	April 3, 1973
Regina	April 10, 1973	Morinville (two meetings)	April 3, 1973
North Battleford	April 11, 1973	St. Albert	April 3, 1973
Saskatoon	April 11, 1973	Westlock	June 28, 1973
Zenon Park	October 5, 1973	Edmonton (two meetings)	June 28-29, 1973
		Edmonton	October 9, 1973
Alberta		British Columbia	
St. Paul	January 16, 1973	Vancouver	March 31, 1973
Bonnyville	January 17, 1973	Victoria	April 1, 1973

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